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EARLY RUSSIAN KNOWLEDGE OF ALASKA
1701-1730

by

Harry M. Majors

On the Atlantic side, North America is separated by vast oceanic distances from Europe. 2000 miles of open sea intervene between the nearest points of Newfoundland and Éire. Even if one goes farther north, into sub-Arctic regions, and hops between the two continents (as did the Vikings) via the Færŏerne islands, Island, the Danmark Strait, Grønland, and the Davis Strait to Baffin Island or the coast of Labrador, the Davis Strait is 250 miles across at its narrowest, and the Danmark Strait 180 miles. These are distances that can be traversed on the open ocean only by seafaring peoples adept at shipbuilding and navigation. Although pack ice fills the Davis Strait in winter, and in fact the Eskimo did reach and settle along the west coast of Grønland, the Danmark Strait remains open all year long and thus constitutes an effective barrier. Only via Новая Земля and Spitzbergen can Grønland and North America be reached from Europe in winter on foot, across the pack ice, and the fact that this hyperborean region remained uncolonized by Eskimos during historic times demonstrates the unfeasibility of this dangerous and barren winter route.

However, only 44 nautical miles separate continental Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales) from Asiatic Siberia (Мыс Дежнева) at the Bering Strait—a two-day journey for the native Chukchi Чукчи of Сибирь or the Kinugmiut Eskimo of Cape Prince of Wales, via skin baidaras during the long daylight hours of summer. In winter, the entire Bering Strait freezes over, and thus provides an effective bridge for travel on foot or on reindeer between the two continents. To facilitate the journey, there are the two (actually three) Diomede Islands situated in the middle of the Bering Strait at exactly the half-way point, thus bisecting the journey into two days in summer or winter (1).

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So practicable is the Diomede ice route as a means of communication between the two continents, whether in summer on boats or in winter on ice, that one does not have to wait until a period of continental glaciation to lower global sea level and thus expose the land bridge of the shallow Bering Strait (a mere 12 to 26 fathoms in the Diomede-St. Lawrence Island region) to permit native travel between Siberia and Alaska. During historic times, in both summer and winter, there was frequent travel, communication, and trade between the Chukchi of Siberia and the Seward Peninsula Eskimo via the Diomede Islands. The native Chukcki knew as to the existence of Alaska, "the great land," long before the advent of Russian settlers in eastern Siberia. By the year 1711, there were herds of domesticated reindeer kept by the Eskimo of Cape Prince of Wales, obtained by trade with or war against the Chukchi, and driven across the ice-covered Bering Strait in winter—long before the reintroduction of reindeer into western Alaska from Siberia during the late 1890's.

Moreover, and of particular interest to the study of ethnic migrations, at the opening of the historic period in 1701-1711, the Eskimo of Cape Prince of Wales occupied the Diomede Islands. These Eskimo appear to have been in the process of extending their territory *westward*, across the Bering Strait to the Чукотский Полуостров of northeasternmost Siberia—a movement counter to the much earlier trend by which the American continents were populated by natives of Mongoloid stock from Siberia.

The Eskimo have made rather remarkable cultural, and to some extent physical, adaptations, enabling them to successfully endure the harsh Arctic environment. Their success is illustrated by the fact that during historic times not only had the Eskimo radiated eastward to the west coast of Grønland, where they came into conflict with and soon supplanted the Norse settlers there, there were also likely on the verge of radiating westward across the Bering Strait into the Чукотский Полуостров, the Chukchi Peninsula. During historic times, small enclaves of Eskimo have successfully been maintained (and still exist) on mainland Asia at Мыс Дежнева and Мыс Чаплина on the Chukchi Peninsula, as well as on Остров Врангеля to the northwest. There was occasional conflict between the American Eskimo and the Asiatic Чукчи; as reported by early Russian visitors, the conflict was about evenly matched (according to Chukchi report). However, the very fact that it was the Eskimo (not the Chukchi) who occupied the Diomede Islands, and that Eskimos were settling in Chukchi territory in Asia (and not the reverse), indicates that the Eskimo were the more aggressively successful of the two peoples.

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The Russian discovery of America was slowly effected over the course of a century, from Дежнев's (2) voyage of 1648 to the second Bering voyage of 1741. In 1648, a party of Russian fur hunters and traders промышленники, under their казак commander Semen Ivanovich Dezhnev Семен Иванович Дежнев (1605?-1673), set out on an eastward voyage from the mouth of the Река Колыма in seven frail boats. Heading eastward along the Arctic coast of Siberia, Дежнев discovered and passed through the Bering Strait, discovered the two Diomede Islands (the first part of American Alaska to be seen by European man), and sailed southwest to the mouth of the Река Анадырь. Дежнев's epic voyage, however, received virtually no attention in either Руссия or Europe, and his achievement went unnoticed until Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), the chronicler and historian of the 1733-1743 Bering expedition, while rummaging through the archives at Якутск in late 1736, unearthed a copy of Дежнев's deposition of April 1655. Over 80 years would elapse before another party of Russians, that of Михаил Спиридонович Гвоздев (*fl.*1716-1754) in 1732, would become the first Russians to view the mainland of Alaska, at Cape Prince of Wales.

The native Chukchi Чукчи, who inhabited the Чукотский Полуостров of the northeasternmost tip of Siberia, had of course known about Alaska for centuries. They often journeyed across the narrow Bering Strait to visit the Eskimo villages on the Diomede Islands as well as on the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales. They referred to Alaska, appropriately, as the "great land," or большая земля in Russian parlance.

During 1701-1730, persistent reports from the native Chukchi reached Russian officials at Анадырск, mentioning a great land to the east, across the Bering Strait, populated with an alien group of natives. However, with the exception of the 1711 manuscript report and map of Петр Ильин сын Попов, these Chukchi reports exerted little appreciable effect upon Russian officials at Санктпетербургъ.

The Попов/Makachkin data on Попов's manuscript map of 1711 was included on a manuscript map of the Чукотский Полуостров region prepared within 1710-1714 by the military commandant at Анадырский Острог, Иван Львов, which was in turn incorporated on a manuscript map compiled within 1717-1722 by фельмаршал граф Jacob Bruce (a good friend of Peter the Great). A copy of the Bruce map was sent to Nürnberg, with official sanction, where it was engraved and published in 1723 by the imperial cartographer to the Austrian court, Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724).

The Homann map of 1723 is one of the epochal charts of Western America and the Northwest Coast, for it represents the first printed reference to Alaska, the first map to depict any part of Alaska (the mainland at Cape Prince of Wales), as well as the first cartographic representation of the Bering Strait—all appearing in print 5 years before Bering's visit to the Bering Strait in 1728, 9 years prior to Гвоздев's sighting of Cape Prince of Wales in 1732, and 18 years prior to the second Bering voyage of 1741. Yet, the epochal Homann map of 1723 is at present virtually unknown to American scholars, librarians, and bibliophiles.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

With this study on the sources for the Russian discovery of America, we continue our analytical series on the bibliography of the Northwest Coast of North America from 1542 to 1841 (3). The prime source materials are to the historian and the historian of science what experimental and observational data are to the physical or natural scientist. The crucial importance of mastery over the prime and secondary source materials (both published and unpublished) cannot be overemphasized. No scholar can ever profess to supreme competence in his field of erudition unless he has gained absolute command over the bibliographic source materials—books, articles, maps, pictures, manuscripts, and other documentary or pictorial records of verbal and visual knowledge. Unfortunately, the field of critical or analytical bibliography—bibliographic control—is a discipline which is not fully appreciated by many historians and librarians. There is no university or library school today that offers a course of study leading to the production of skilled critical and analytical bibliographies; and, as a consequence, there are exceedingly few people who are sufficiently proficient in this field. It is no coincidence that the greatest analytical historians of their respective fields—Henry R. Wagner for the Spanish Northwest Coast, and Dale L. Morgan for the overland American West, neither of whom was a professional academic historian—were also the greatest bibliographers of Western Americana of their day.

The sources for the Northwest Coast of North America are exceedingly profuse, rare, and obscure, and far exceed in complexity those for the Western Interior of North America 1528-1845. Due in part to the language barrier (Russian, Spanish, German, Latin, and French, in addition to English), the remoteness of the region concerned, and the extreme rarity of most of the source materials, there are exceedingly few scholars who have mastered the bibliographic complexities and historical intricacies of the Northwest Coast (4). Indeed, the number of American scholars prior to 1950 who had gained mastery over the history of Russian Alaska 1648-1867 can be counted on one hand.

The history of the Northwest Coast involves such scattered, diverse, and obscure source materials as printed Russian books, of which only one, two, or three specimens exist in libraries outside of Russia; Spanish manuscripts at Sevilla, Madrid, or Ciudad de México; botanical manuscripts and specimens at Boston, Washington, or Kew, England; zoological manuscripts and specimens at Philadelphia and in Österreich; along with exceedingly rare scientific reports written in Deutsch or Latin, and published in obscure technical journals.

The region encompassed by the Northwest Coast is vast—the entire littoral from the Bay of San Francisco to the Bering Strait—an area so enormous, that practically no scholar has gained an adequate familiarity with the geography, ethnology, and natural history of this region to permit full comprehension of the source materials.

There are virtually no scholars proficient in the bibliography of the Northwest Coast of North America for the period 1542-1841, and there are very few libraries which possess adequate collections of Northwest Coast source materials. Unlike the European discovery of the Atlantic coast of North America, which has always been a topic of perennial interest among scholars and bibliophiles, the far distant and isolated Northwest Coast has remained neglected. As a consequence, some of the superlatively great and rare books pertaining to the Northwest Coast are still relatively unknown to historians, librarians, and bibliophiles. As a result, because these works have remained unknown so long, and specimens no longer circulate in the rare book market (as they might have a century ago), it is very unlikely that specimens will ever again be available for acquisition by libraries. The few available specimens of the great Northwest Coast rarities have now been permanently secured in the major libraries of Europe and America, and no other libraries can ever expect to either build or complete their collections of early Northwest Coast publications.

This present issue of *Northwest Discovery* represents a momentous achievement in the history of scholarly journals on Western Americana, for it constitutes the first time that extensive use of Cyrillic type has been made in a Western historical journal (5). With the exception of two nstances where the original texts were not available, all the translations rom Russian, German, and French appearing in this study are my own. I ave chosen to render literal, rather than polished, translations, for hough they might not read as elegantly, literal translations come most losely to the author's original written words. All Russian quotations and ibliographic reference citations are presented in Cyrillic type, this entire ssue being personally typeset by me.

NOTES

(1) Unknown to most people, the international boundary between the United States and Russia passes between the Big Diomede Island (Russia) and Little Diomede Island (United States), which are only one mile apart, thus at this site American and Russian territory are scarcely 5000 feet distant from one another.

(2) The use of Cyrillic type to correctly designate Russian proper nouns (personal and geographical names) involves a slight difficulty when that noun is employed in a sentence in other than the nominative case. In all instances, I present the nominative form of the Russian substantive. The difficulty arises when a noun, such as Дежнев, appears in a context other than the nominative—in this particular instance, the possessive or genitive case. Properly, in Russian the genitive form is Дежнева. However, I have chosen to follow a convention of speaking in English, and have thus bastardized the English-sounding Dezhnev's to Дежнев's by adding an apostrophe and the English s.

Along this same line, I have made a couple of other minor modifications in the accepted forms of Russian punctuation. Instead of using Cyrillic quotation marks « », I instead use the English forms '' ''—their high level on the typeset line makes it much easier for the eye to catch the start and end of a quotation while reading the printed page.

Also, in binary geographic names, the Russian practice is usually not to capitalize the generic term: Охотское море, остров Беринга, река Анадырь, Чукотский полуостров—a practice quite common in America 100 years ago. However, I find the visual appearance and clarity of such forms as Pacific Ocean, Aleutian Islands, Yukon River, Seward Peninsula far too satisfying on the printed page, and I have thus chosen to capitalize both terms in Russian.

(3) The first study in this series on the Northwest Coast appeared as: Harry M. Majors, ''The Hezeta and Bodega voyage of 1775,'' *Northwest Discovery* (Seattle), vol. 1, October 1980, pp. 208-252.

(4) Where applicable, in my bibliographic footnote citations I give credit to the admirable achievement of some of the pioneer Northwest Coast bibliographers and scholars, who mastered the source materials for this region, by citing them in parentheses as (Dall; Bancroft; Golder; Stejneger; Wickersham). These scholars gained almost absolute control over the bibliographic source materials for their respective field of knowledge, and their achievement should be so recognized.

It not infrequently occurs that scholars or scientists embark upon their respective research, utilizing the works of previous persons to help them locate sources which they otherwise would never have known existed—and then fail to credit the bibliographic assistance of these earlier scholars in their final published work. This is an insidious and pervasive form of intellectual dishonesty that is practiced by all too many scholars and scientists today.

(5) For the English Roman and italic typeface, instead of using our elegant classic Garamond, which has been used for past issues of *Northwest Discovery*, I have instead chosen to use our Baskerville font, which, though not entirely compatible with this specific Cyrillic typeface, nonetheless does not clash with it as much as does the Garamont. The typeface of John Baskerville (1707-1775) has a phylogeny that can be traced back, via William Caslon (1692-1766) and earlier type designers, to that of Claude Garamond (Garamont, 1480-1561).

The use of so unfamiliar a typeface as Cyrillic may at first prove awkward to the reader unaccustomed to this; but, after a little familiarity is gained, the reader will come to recognize such frequently used forms as Kamchatka Камчатка, Sanktpeterburg' Санктпетербургъ, Chirikov Чириков, and so on.

Use of the original Cyrillic allows for maximum accuracy in presenting proper names, quotations, and bibliographic citations. And, it avoids the difficulties of ambiguity and appearance inherent in the various methods of transliteration, such as that used by the Library of Congress: if y is used for ы, then ia has to be used for я (pronounced *ya*), but this invites confusion with ия. But worse, does ' signify ь or ъ?; and does e signify е or э?; and does ie mean е (pronounced *ye*) or ие?. And if Иркутск is written Irkutsk, how do you designate that in this instance the ts is actually a тс and not ц? The use of a Cyrillic type font avoids all of the ambiguities and infelicities of transliteration.

Several Russian characters have nearly the identical use and sound as the English ones: А, К, М, О, Т. However, certain other letters are pronounced entirely different in Russian: В is *veh*, Н is *en*, Р is *err*, С is *ess*, У is *oo*. Some characters are derived from Hellenic letters (St. Cyril 827-869, who devised the Cyrillic script, was a Greek missionary from Byzantium), thus we recognize П *peh* as the Greek *pi*, Р *err* as the Greek *hro*, Ф *eff* as the Greek *fi*, and the guttural Х *khah* as the Greek *khi*. Other characters are entirely unique to the Slavonic system: Ж *zheh*, Ц *tseh*, Щ *shchah*, Ю *yu*, Я,*yah*. Two characters are silent: the soft designator ь, and the hard designator ъ.

In dealing with pre-1900 Russian texts, as I have for this study, there are several archaic Cyrillic characters and forms. The твёрдый знак or hard sign ъ is very frequently used, far more so than today. This, however, poses no typesetting problem, as this character is still in use at the present.

In many instances, the Roman i is used in the stead of и. In some respects this actually represents an easier and more legible useage than present-day convention—especially in a typeface dominated by such columnar forms as н, и, й, п, й, ш, щ—and I personally frequently use the form ій in writing Cyrillic notes. The i, however, poses little problem, for in such instances I merely draw a Baskerville i from the lower magazine when setting Cyrillic type from the upper magazine.

In the case of the rarely used *fitah* фита (Hellenic *theta*), since this character is not present in modern Russian typefonts, it must be constructed from an O and -.

Unfortunately, the яц *yatss*, which was formerly frequently used in place of е *yeh*, is also no longer present in modern Russian type fonts. This presents a real problem, because the letter is commonly used in pre-1900 texts, but there is no manner in which I can construct a similar or typographically pleasing character with the Baskerville and Cyrillic characters and sorts presently at my disposal. Instead, what I have done is to use an italic Baskerville *e*, with the understanding that whenever this italic *e* appears in a Russian word it signifies the

The older sources, such as the Львов/Попов map of 1712-1714, use even more archaic letters, such as ï for й, g or y for д, x for и, ii for к, ˆ for т, and п for в, as well as others which are beyond the capability of my typefonts to reproduce. These I have not even attempted to represent in their original form.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF KAMCHATKA

During the 17th century, enterprising Russian adventurers казаки and fur hunters/traders промышленники explored the great forest, steppe, and tundra expanses of Siberia, resulting in the eastward expansion of Russian dominion to the Pacific Ocean. As these men made their way eastward, they successively founded settlements or fortified posts остроги at Тобольск (1587), Томск (1604), Иркутск-(1652), Якутск (1632) on the Река Лена, Ясачное Зимовье (1639) at the mouth of the Река Улья on the Охотское Море, Нижне-Колымский Острог (1644) on the lower Река Колыма, Анадырский Острог (1648) near the Bering Sea, and Охотск (1649) on the waters of the Pacific Ocean at Охотское Море.

In 1636 or 1639, a party of казаки under Ivan Moskvitin Иван Москвитин journeyed southeast from their post on the Река Алдан (an eastern tributary of the Река Лена), descended the short Река Улья, and reached the northwest shore of the Охотское Море at a point about 50 miles southwest of present-day Охотск. They were the first Russians to reach the Sea of Okhotsk, and thus the first Russians to reach the waters of the Pacific Ocean. For about two years, Москвитин's party journeyed along the western coast of this sea, exploring the shoreline from the Река Охотка on the north to nearly the mouth of the Река Амур on the south (1).

Less than a decade later, during 1645-46, В. Поярков visited the coastal region from the Река Амур to the Река Улья. In 1646, another party under Семен Шелковников journeyed from Якутск to the mouth of the Река Охота, where in 1649 he founded the present town of Охотск.

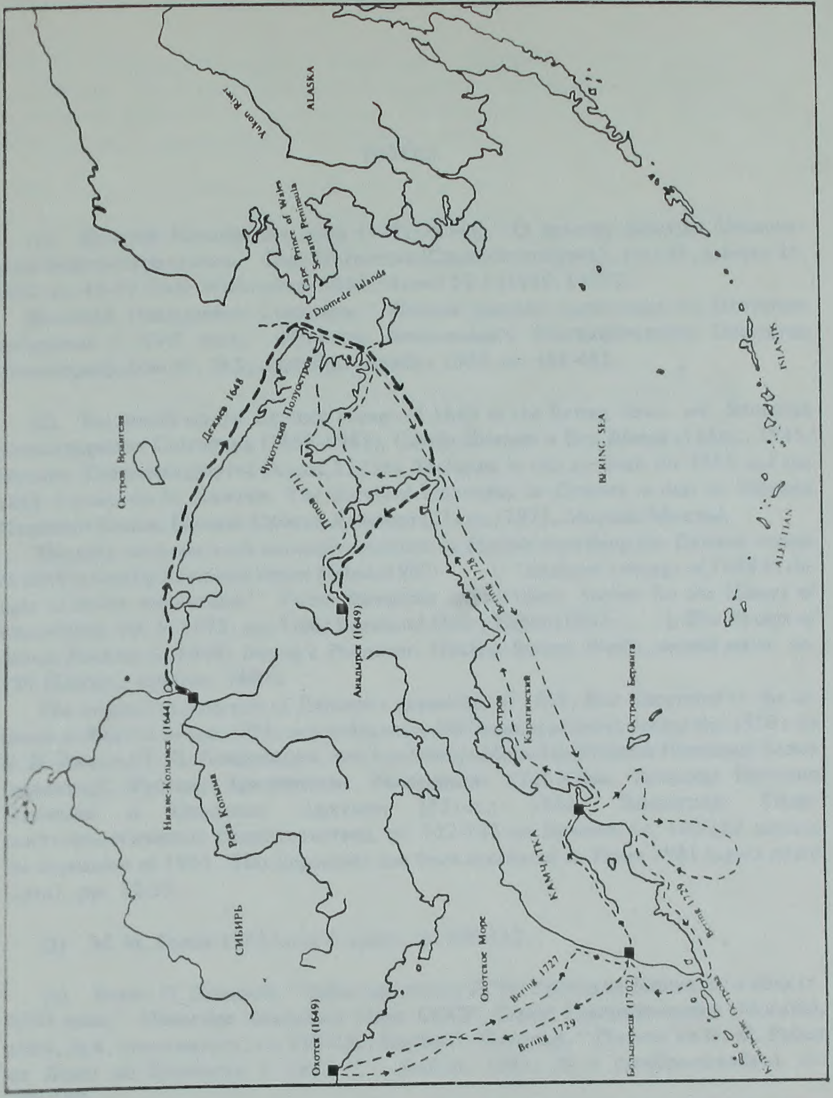
One century later, the settlement of Охотск was to play a major rôle in the Russian exploration of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. In 1714 the first Russian naval station on the Pacific Ocean was established at Охотск, and it was from this station that Bering's two voyages of 1728 and 1741 set out on their journey to the Bering Sea and Alaska. However, at first the Охотское Море remained an enigma for nearly a century, and it was not until 1716 that a party of Russians finally crossed this body of water eastward, thus demonstrating that Камчатка could be reached directly from Охотск via the sea. Prior to this, Russian explorers had to enter Камчатка overland, via the north, from the Анадырь basin

In June 1648, a party of казаки under Semen Ivanovich Dezhnev Семен Иванович Дежнев (1605?-1673) set out in seven frail boats on an eastbound voyage from the mouth of the Река Колыма. Heading eastward along the Arctic coast of Siberia into a totally unknown region, Дежнев discovered the Bering Strait and the Diomede Islands—the first part of American Alaska to be seen by European man—but he did not sight the Alaskan mainland. Passing south through the Bering Strait, Дежнев in September 1648 then sailed to the southwest, landed the following month on the Koriak coast, and finally reached the lower Река Анадырь overland toward the end of December 1648 (2).

After Дежнев opened the way to the Анадырь basin, other parties of промышленники made their way eastward in the quest for furs. In 1649, a mere year after Dezhnev's voyage, Михаил Стадухин made an unsuccessful attempt to sail east from the mouth of the Река Колыма, but lack of food compelled him to return before reaching the north entrance to the Bering Strait (3). As early as 1662, a party of казаки under I. M. Rubets И. М. Рубец finally reached the peninsula of Камчатка, possibly via a route from the Река Лена that may have retraced Dezhnev's earlier journey around the Чукотский Полуостров (4). Within 1669-1671, an overland party under Иван Ермолин reached the northernmost part of Kamchatka (5).

The effective discovery of Kamchatka, however, dates from the 1690's when several parties of Russian explorers from the Anadyr basin entered the peninsula overland from the north (6). This immense volcano-studded peninsula, almost the size of Japan, was the last large region to be explored in the Russian empire. Лука Морозко and a party of kazaks visited northern Камчатка in 1695-96, but it was not until the expedition of Vladimir Atlasov Владимир Атласов (*d.*1711) during 1697-1699 that Russian officials gained the first clear and substantial information as to the nature of the Kamchatka peninsula (8). During his journey of 1697-99, Атласов headed southward overland from the Анадырь basin to Олюторский Залив, then west to the lower Пенжинская Губа, and then southward along nearly the entire length of the west coast of Камчатка, except for a detour eastward to visit the valley of the lower Река Камчатка. Atlasov established the first Russian settlement in Kamchatka at Верхне Камчатск, on the upper Kamchatka River. At this same time, within 1695-1701, Остров Карагинский off the north east coast of Kamchatka was discovered and visited by a party under Иван Голыгин (8a).

Atlasov's explorations in Kamchatka were extended shortly thereafter by Кобелев and Зиновев, who by 1706 had established a second Russian fort острог at Нижне Камчатск on the lower Река Камчатка, near the east coast. However, the native Камчадалы of the southern peninsula, and the even more fierce Коряки of the northern peninsula proved difficult to subjugate. A native uprising in 1706 drove



the Russians out of the peninsula, but they soon returned in 1707 to recapture their two blockhouses. A second rebellion in 1711 resulted in the death of Атласов.

By 1711 three Russian settlements (actually fortified blockhouses or ostrogs) had been established in Kamchatka: Большерецк in 1702 on the lower southwest coast, Нижне Камчатск on the central east coast of the peninsula near the mouth of the Kamchatka River, and Верхне Камчатск in the interior of the peninsula on the upper Kamchatka River. It was from Нижне Камчатск that Witus J. Bering set sail on his voyage of 1728 to the Bering Strait. Some 15 years later, it would be at

Большерецск where Georg Wilhelm Steller, the naturalist on Bering's 1741 voyage, made his headquarters for his survey of the natural history of the Kamchatka peninsula (9). To the north, the agressive Koriak natives were conquered within 1710-1715, but the more isolated Chukchi natives even farther north required another generation, largely due to their isolation.

During 1712-13, Данило Анциферов and Иван Петрович Козыревский were the first Russians to journey from southernmost Kamchatka to the Курильские Острова (11), a portent of increasing Russian naval expertise in this region.

A rebellion in Камчатка in 1711, resulting in the slaying of the pioneer Russian explorer of that peninsula, Владимир Атласов, made it evident to Russian authorities that Kamchatka could not be controlled and goverened so long as there was no feasible and rapid route to send reinforcements there. A major problem was the lack of any Russian military outpost on the Охотское Море, thus in 1713 царь Петр I ordered the establishment of a Russian naval station at Охотск, a Russian community first settled in 1649. Strong tidal currents, and a treacherous bar which could be crossed only at high tide, made the Охотск harbor a dangerous haven for ships, but it was nonetheless the only available port along this section of relatively featureless coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (13). To establish this naval station, in 1715 a party of Russian sailors and shipbuilders journeyed overland from Якутск to Охотск, where that same year they established the first Russian naval station on the Pacific Ocean. They carried with them sails, rope, anchors, and during the winter of 1715-16 they built the 51-foot Охота, the first Russian naval vessel to sail the waters of the Pacific Ocean. In June 1716 this ship sailed eastward from Охотск, hugging the north coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, to reach the west coast of Kamchatka, near the Река Тигил, thus demonstrating that this peninsula could be reached via the Sea of Okhotsk.

In early 1716, the military governor воевода at Yakutsk, Яков А. Ельчин visited Москва with the distressing news that the rebellion in Kamchatka was totally out of hand, and the the peninsula was in control of renegade казаки and the hostile native Kamchadals and Koriaks. This dire news provided the necessary impetus in Moscow, and in December 1716 Ельчин was ordered back to Камчатка in command of a large party that was (a) to pacify Kamchatka, and (b) to survey the peninsula as well as the Kurile Islands (14). Although Ельчин was relieved of his command in 1718, and most of the expedition was disbanded, a Swedish prisoner-of-war with the party, Ambjorn Molyk, in 1717 made the sea voyage from Охотск to Камчатка, thus confirming the feasibility of the sea route from Okhotsk to the west coast of Kamchatka. This sea route was now an established reality, and every year thereafter at least one ship journeyed from Охотск to the peninsula (15).

NOTES

(1) Василий Николаевич Берх (1781-1834), ''О крытие казаком Москвитяним Восточнаго океана,'' **Сын Отечества** (Санктпетербургъ), том 88, выпуск 35, 1823, сс. 49-59 (Dall; Wickersham 5881; Howell 52-1 (1980, $400)).

Николай Николаевич Степанов, ''Первая русская экспедиция на Охотском побережье в XVII веке,'' **Известия Всесоюзного Теографического Общества** (Ленинград), том 90, № 5, сентябрь-октябрь 1958, сс. 438-452.

(2) For details on the Дежнев voyage of 1648 to the Bering Strait, see: Вячеслав Александрович Самойлов (1889-1943), **Семён Дежнев и Его Время** (148сс.; 1945, Москва: Главсевморпуть) (Arctic 15256). Included in this are both the 1655 and the 1662 depositions by Дежнев. The standard biography on Дежнев is that by Михаил Иванович Белов, **Подвиг Семена Дежнева** (211сс.; 1973, Москва: Мысль).

The only adequate work currently available in English describing the Дежнев voyage of 1648 is that by Raymond Henry Fisher (1907-), ''Dezhnev's voyage of 1648 in the light of Soviet scholarship,'' *Terræ Incognitæ* (Amsterdam: Society for the History of Discoveries), vol. 5, 1973, pp. 7-26; Raymond Henry Fisher (1907-), *The Voyage of Semen Dezhnev in* 1648: *Bering's Precursor*. Hakluyt Society Works, second series, no. 159 (326pp.; London, 1981).

The original manuscript of Дежнев's deposition of 1655, first discovered in the archives at Якутск in late 1736, was rediscovered in Russian archives during the 1950's by Б. Д. Кац and Т. Д. Лавренцова, and has been published in Михаил Иванович Белов (редактор), **Русские Арктические Экспедиции** XVII-XXвв. **Вопросы Истории Изучения и Освоения Арктики** (231сс.; 1964, Ленинград: Гидрометеорьдогическое Ищдательство), сс. 127-143 on Дежнев, сс. 130-132 contain the deposition of 1655. This deposition has been translated in Fisher 1981 (*opere citato supra*), pp. 52-55.

(3) М. И. Белов 1973 (note 2 *supra*), сс. 109-112.

(4) Борис П. Полевой, ''Забытый поход И. М. Рубеца на Камчатку в 60-х гг. XVII века,'' **Известия Академии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** (Москва), 1964, № 4, июль-август, сс. 130-135; Борис П. Полевой, ''Плавал ли И. М. Рубец от Лены до Камчатки в 1662г.?'', *ibidem*, 1981, № 6 (ноябрь-декабрь), сс. 130-140.

In 1686, while visiting Москва, the French Jesuit Philippe Avril (1654-1698) met with the military commandant of Смоленск, Иван Алексеевич Мусин-Пушкин. The latter informed Avril as to the reported existence of an inhabited island off the mouth of the Река Колыма, from which he felt that the natives might be able to drift across the ocean to northernmost America on floes of ice. Мусин-Пушкин also felt that due to the similarity between some American and Siberian animals, such as the beaver, this indicated some sort of communication between the two continents: Philippe Avril (1654-1698), *Voyage en Divers États d'Europe et d' Asie, Entrépris pour Découvrir un Nouveau Chemin à la Chine* (406pp.; Paris, 1692), pp. 210-211.

However, as Л. С. Берг (1935, с. 61) concludes, this ''inhabited island'' off the mouth of the Река Колыма is not Alaska, but more likely the Медвежьи Острова.

(5) Борис П. Полевой, ''Поход Ивана Ермолина 1669-1671гг. (к истории рытия Камчатки),'' **Известия Академии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** осква), 1976, No. 5 (сентябрь-октобрь), сс. 123-127.

(6) Михаил Иванович Белов, ''Русские походы на Камчатку до Атласова,'' **естия Всесоюзного Географического Общества** (Ленинград), том 89, выпуск нварь-февраль 1957, сс. 25-35.

(7) In many respects, the peninsula of Камчатка is one of the most remarkable ons of all Siberia, There is an interesting floral assemblage, first examined during the y 1740's by naturalist Georg W. Steller of the second Bering expedition, as well as a e variety of birds.

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Kamchatka peninsula is its extensive anic activity, in the form of numerous hot springs and volcanoes. There are about 40 anoes on the Kamchatka peninsula, of which some 15 have been active—some ently so—in historic times. One in particular, Ключевская Сопка (15,584 feet) has distinction of being the highest mountain in all of eastern Siberia as well as the highest ve volcano in the Eastern Hemisphere.

Just a few miles south of here is another remarkable volcano, Безымянная Сопка, nerly about 11,000 feet in elevation, but now reduced to a breached caldera with the hest point on its rim at about only 9500 feet in altitude. On March 30, 1956, Безянная Сопка experienced a cataclysmic eruption, very similar in nature to that of unt St. Helens in 1980, resulting in structural failure of the flank of the volcano, lateral losion, collapse of the cone, formation of a vast breached caldera, and the subsequent mation of a tholoid or lava dome within the exposed cavity, see: Г. С. Горшков, igantic eruption of the volcano Bezymianny (Kamchatka),'' *Bulletin Volcanologique* apoli-Roma), vol. 20, 1959, pp. 77-109.

(8) Владимир Атласов (*d.*1711), edited by Николай Николаевич Оглоблин (18 -), ''Две 'скаски' Вл. Атласова об открытии Камчатки,'' **Чтения в Императорском Обществе Истории и Древностеи Россииских при Московском Унив**ситете (Москва), том 157, книга 3, отдел 1, 1891, сс. 1-18

Борис П. Полевой, ''Семен Ремезов и Владимир Атласов,'' **Известия Акемии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** (Москва), 1965, № 6 (ноябрь-декабрь), 92-101.

(8a) Дмитрий Михаилович Лебедев, **География в России Петровского емени.** Академия Наук СССР, Институт Географии, Серия Иточи и Проблемы бременной Науки (383сс.; 1950, Москва и Ленинград), сс. 50-51.

(9) Большерецк, founded in 1702 by Тимофей Кобелов, was burned in 1707 ing a native Камчадал uprising, and subsequently refounded in 1711 by Владимир ласов.

(10) For the early history of Kamchatka, see: А. С. Сгибнев, ''Исторический рк главнейщих событий в Камчатке,'' **Морской Сборник** (Санктпетербургъ) ф. отд.,

том 101, № 4, апрель 1869, сс. 65-142, map [1650-1742]
том 102, № 5, май 1869, сс. 53-84 [1742-1759]
том 102, № 6, июнь 1869, сс. 37-69 [1759-1772]
том 103, № 7, июль 1869, сс. 1-129 [1772-1816]
том 103, № 8, август 1869, сс. 33-110 [1816-1856]

jneger p. 591; Fisher p. 204).

Семен Бенционович Окунь (редакиор), **Колонияльная Политика Царизма на ичатке и Чукотке в XVIII веке. Сборник Архивных** Материялов. Институт родов Севера, Труды по Истории, том 2 (211сс.; 1935, Ленинград) (Arctic 91)

(11) И. И. Огрызко, ''Открытие Курильских Островов,'' appearing on cc. 167-207 of: **Языки и История Народностей Крайнего Севера СССР.** Учененые Записки Ленинградского Государственного Университета, № 157 (Серия Факультета Народов Севера, № 2) (Ленинград, 1953).

(12) For descriptions of Okhotsk and its early history, see:

М. И. Миницкий, ''Некоторые известия об Охотском порте и уезде оного, доставленные капитан-лейтенантом Миницким в 1809 году,'' **Записки Адмиралтеиского Департамента** (Санктпетербургъ: Морского Министерства), 1815, сс. 87-103.

М. И. Миницкий, ''Описание Охотского порта,'' **Сын Отечества**, 1829, № 21, сс. 136-153, 206-221.

С. Канагев, ''Охотск,'' **Северное Обозрение**, том 3, 1850, сс. 363-384.

А. С. Савин, ''Охотск,'' **Записки Гидпрграфического Департамента** (Санкгпетербургъ: Морского Министерства), том 9, 1851, сс. 148-161.

А. С. Сгибнев, ''Охотскии порт с 1649 по 1852 год,'' **Морской Сборник** (Санктпетербургъ), том 105, 1869, № 11, сс. 1-92, № 12, сс. 1-63.

(13) А. С. Сгибнев, ''Большой камчатский наряд (экспедиция Ельчина),'' **Морской Сборник** (Санктпетербургъ), неоф. отд., том 99, № 12, декабрь 1868, сс. 131-139 (приложение).

(14) See note 13 *supra*. Ельчин's manuscript map of 1719 is located in the Центральный Государственный Архив Древних Актов (Москва), фонд кабинет Петра Великого, книга 43, лист 374.

(15) М. Жданко, ''Работы русских моряков в Охотском Море,'' **Записки по Гидрографий** (Петроград: Главное Гидрографическое Управление, Морское Министерство), том 40, № 5, 1916.

CHUKCHI REPORTS ON ALASKA 1701-1730

As is the case with nearly all the inhabited regions of the globe, there has been a native tradition of discovery, exploration, and geographical knowledge that has long predated the arrival of the first European explorers in a given region. This same holds true for the Mongoloid Chukchi **Чукчи** who inhabited the Chukchi Peninsula **Чукотский Полуостров** of northeasternmost Siberia. For centuries, these people had known as to existence of a ''great land'' inhabited by an alien group of natives, which lay to the east across the Bering Strait. This was the present Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales, the western tip of the Seward Peninsula. The specific Eskimo who inhabited Cape Prince of Wales were the Kinugmiut. The south coast of the Seward Peninsula was occupied by the Kaviagmiut, while the north coast was the domain of the Malemiut Eskimo.

The Russian presence in the **Анадырь** basin dates from late 1648, when **Семен Иванович Дежнев** (1605?-1673) and his party sailed southward through the Bering Strait, and in late December of that year established a small permanent camp on the lowermost Anadyr River **Река Анадырь**. This antedated by only a few months the first Russian settlement at **Охотск** in 1649, and together these constitute the first two Russian settlements on the Pacific Ocean. It would be from the blockhouse or small fort **острог** at **Анадырск** that the first Russian parties entered **Камчатка** from the north during the 1690's.

Although the first Russian explorer to sight the Alaskan mainland (at Cape Prince of Wales) would be Mikhail Spiridonovich Gvozdev **Михаил Спиридонович Гвоздев** (*fl.*1716-1754) in 1732, for over three decades prior to this persistent reports from the native **Чукчи** reached Russian authorities at **Анадырск** as to existence of a ''great land'' **большая земля** to the east, across the Bering Strait.

ATLASOV's CHUKCHI REPORT of 1701

The first documented reference to the natives of the Alaskan mainland dates from a report written in 1701 by the Russian military commandant/governor **воевода** at Anadyrsk', Vladimir Atlasov **Владимир Атласов** (*d.*1711). **Атласов** is one of the more reknown Siberian explorers of this period, for during 1697-1699 he became the first European to journey the entire length of the **Камчатка** peninsula.

While at **Анадырск** within 1695-1697 or 1699-1701, **Атласов** heard Chukchi rumors as to the presence of an ''impassable'' cape **необходимой нос** located between the mouths of the **Колыма** and **Анадырь** rivers—this is, in fact, the present **Чукотский Полуостров**, the easternmost tip of Siberia. Opposite this cape was an island (Alaska), from which alien natives periodically would journey to trade fur pelts with the **Чукчи**.

Reference: Владимир Атласов (*d.*1711), edited by Николай Николаевич Оглоблин (1852-), ''Две 'скаски' Вл. Атласов об открытии Камчатки,'' **Чтения в Императорском Обществе Истории и Древностеи Россииских При Московском Университете** (Москва), том 157, книга 3, отдел 1, 1891, сс. 1-18, *cit.* с. 12.

> ''А меж Колымы и Анадыря реки необходимой нос, которой впал в море, и по левой стороне того носу на море летом бывают льды, а зимою то море стоит мерзло, а по другую сторону того носу весною льды бывают, а летом не бывают (2). А на том необходимом носу он Володимер не бывал.
>
> А тутошние инородцы чюкчи, которые живут около
> того носу и на устье Анандыря реки, сказывали, что пр-
> отив того необходимого носу есть остров, а с того ос-
> трову зимою как море замерзнет приходят иноземцы,
> говорят своим языком (3) и приносят соболи худые,
> подобны зверю хорьку, и тех соболей соболя с три он Вол-
> одимер видел. А хвосты у тех соболей длиною в четверть
> аршина, с полосами поперечными черными и кр-
> асными.''
>
> ''And between Kolyma and Anadyr rivers [is an] impassable cape [the Chukchi Peninsula], which (reaches) into sea, and on left [north] side of this cape on sea in summer is ice, but in winter that sea becomes frozen, and on another side of this cape in spring is ice, but in summer is no [ice] (2). And on this impassable cape he Володимир [Атласов] was not.
>
> ''And various native Chukchi, who live on this cape and at mouth of Анадыр river, report, that opposite this impassable cape is [an] island, and from this island [mainland Alaska at Cape Prince of Wales] when [the] sea is frozen arrive foreigners [Kinugmiut Eskimos], speaking their own language (3) and bringing thin/poor furs, similar to [the] animal polecat [not the American skunk, but the Eurasian polecat], and of (these furs) he Володимер saw three. And [the] tail of these furs [is] one-fourth аршин long [7 inches long], with black and red/pretty transverse stripes (4).''

The ''island'' is the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales, for no native fur-bearing land mammals inhabited the tiny Diomede Islands. This passage constitutes the first recorded reference to the Alaskan mainland (5) and its natives, and with this document the history of mainland Alaska begins.

E POPOV/MAKACHKIN ACCOUNT of 1711

As of the year 1711, the isolated Chukchi **Чукчи** natives of nor-asternmost Siberia remained aloof and independent from Russian jugation, refusing to pay tribute to Russian authorities at Анадырск. an effort to learn more about these autonomous natives, and to suade them to accept Russian dominion over them (by paying tribute, by sending some of their sons to Анадырск as hostages), in January 1 Petr Il'in Popov Петр Ильин сын Попов was sent out with a small ty from Anadyrsk to the Chukchi Peninsula Чукотский Полуос-ів. Попов was specifically instructed to make observations on the кчи, their land and its resources, to record these data in his journal, to prepare a map of the Чукотский Полуостров, ''той ихъ ікоцкой земл*е* написать чертежъ'' (c. 457). Попов's journal and p have long since vanished; however, I strongly suspect that graphical data from his now lost map was almost certainly in-porated on maps of easternmost Siberia compiled shortly after 1711 cartographer Семен Ульянович Ремезов (1642-*post* 1720), and by ан Львов (see p. 106 *infra*). All that has survived is a brief deposition de by Попов in September 1711, in the form of a copy made in late 36 by Gerhard Friedrich Müller.

On January 13, 1711 (Julian), Попов and his small party left адырск on their journey to the Chukchi Peninsula, where ten weeks r he presented his demands to the Chukchi natives. (This constitutes first recorded Russian overland journey to the Чукотский луостров.) Upon his arrival there, the Чукчи informed Popov that in past they had been visited by Russians via the sea ''прежде сего кіе люди у пихъ Чюкочь кочами моремъ бывали'' (c. 457). wever, they adamantly refused to comply with Попов's demands that y pay tribute to and surrender their sons as hostages to an unknown n country. Попов then returned to Анадырск on July 28, 1711, and mptly set out again for the Chukchi country, this time with a force of ssian казаки. With this party, Попов collected a total tribute of five -fox skins from five Чукчи natives, and persuaded one of them to ırn with him to Анадырский Острог.

After his return to Анадырск, Попов presented an oral report or osition to the commandant there on September 2, 1711, briefly cribing his journey to the Chukchi country. In this deposition, Попов ıtions that he was informed by the Чукчи natives as to the existence of ''island'' островъ one day's journey across the strait east of the котский Полуостров, and that because of its vast size it was referred by the Чукчи as the ''great land'' болшею землею—the Alaskan nland at Cape Prince of Wales. Попов's account is of particular ortance in that one of the Чкечи natives he had spoken with, Makachkin Макачкин, had actually visited Cape Prince of Wales on several occasions, and most likely provided Попов with the detailed information concerning the Diomede Islands and the Alaskan mainland. This Попов/Макачкин account of 1711 represents the second reference to mainland Alaska; and, of greater importance, it constitutes the first detailed account we have of mainland Alaska and the native Eskimo there.

Попов's deposition of 1711 was discovered by the chronicler/historian of the second Bering expedition, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), in the archives at Якутск late in 1736. As with the earlier Дежнев deposition of April 1655, Müller made a copy of the Попов deposition of 1711—fortunately so, since the original deposition of 1711 cannot presently be located, and for nearly three centuries we have known of the Попов/Макачкин account of Alaska only through Müller's transcript of 1736. Müller first published Попов's deposition in 1758, in his account of the second Bering expedition (5); however, it was not until 1882 that the complete and accurate text of the 1736 Müller copy of the deposition was finally published (6):

Reference: Петр Ильин сын Попов, ''1711, сентября 2. Показаніе якутскаго служилаго челов*е*ка Петра Попова, посыланнаго въ Чукоцкую землю для собранія св*е*д*е*ній о тамошнихъ жителяхъ и призыванія ихъ въ ясачный платежъ,'' appearing in: Археографическая Коммиссия (А. И. Тимофеев, редактор), **Памятники Сибирской Исторіи XVIII В*е*ка** [1700-1713; 1713-1724] (2 томы; 1882-1885, Петербургъ: Министерства Внутреннихъ Д*е*ль) том 1 (1882), cc. 456-459 (документ 108), *cit.* cc. 458-459.

> ''Противъ того Анандырского Носу [Чукотский Полуостров, Мыс Дежнева] съ обоихъ сторонъ съ Ковымского моря [Колымское Море, теперь Чукотское Море] и съ Анандырского [Море, *sic*, теперь Анадырский Залив of the Bering Sea] есть де значитца островъ [Alaska, at Cape Prince of Wales], и про тотъ остр-овъ подлинно ему Петру съ товарищи сказывали Носовые Чюхчи Макачкины съ родниками:
>
> ''есть де на томъ острову [Alaska] люди зубатые (7), а в*е*ры де и иной всякой обыкности и языку не ихъ Чюкоцкова (8), особой, и изъ давныхъ де л*е*тъ и поньін*е* у нихъ Носовыхъ Чюкочь съ т*е*ми островными людми межъ собою немирно, ходятъ другъ на друга съ боемъ; а бой де у т*е*хъ островныхъ людей лучной и у Чюкочь такой же (8). И онъ Петръ съ товарищи т*е*хъ островныхъ людей у нихъ Чюкочь взятыхъ въ полону видалъ челов*е*къ съ 10. А зубы у т*е*хъ людей, кром*е* природныхъ, есть вставливаные моржеваго зубья маленкіе кости, подл*е* природные, въ щекахъ (7).

''А съ того де Носу [Мыс Дежнева] на тотъ островъ л*е*тнимъ временемъ въ байдарахъ веслами переб*е*гаютъ однимъ днемъ, а зимою на оленяхъ (9) на легк*е* пере*е*зжаютъ однимъ же днемъ (10).

''И есть де на томъ остров*е* [Cape Prince of Wales] всякой зв*е*рь, соболи (11) и куницы и лисицы всякіе, и песцы, и волки, и розсомаки, и медв*е*ди б*е*лые, и морскіе бобры, и держатъ де у себя великія табуны оленей (9).

''А кормятца де они морскими [страница 459] зв*е*рями и ягодами и кореньемъ и травою. И всякой на томъ острову [Cape Prince of Wales] есть де л*е*съ: кедръ, сосна, ельникъ, пихтовникъ, листвякъ (14). И тотъ островной л*е*съ онъ Петръ съ товарищи у нихъ Чюкочь въ байдарахъ и въ в*е*ткахъ и въ юртахъ вид*е*ли (15). А живутъ де они островные люди [Alaskan Eskimos] собою такожъ, что де и они Чюкчи, и началныхъ де людей никого у нихъ н*е*тъ. . . .

''Островныхъ де людей [Alaskan Eskimo captives], прим*е*няясь онъ же Макачкинъ и островные люди, которые у нихъ Чюкочь въ полону, сказывали ему Петру съ товарищи: есть де ихъ при нихъ Чюкчахъ втрое, и онъ де Макачкинъ на томъ остров*е* [Cape Prince of Wales] бывалъ по многіе годы въ походахъ, и называютъ Чюкчи тотъ островъ болшею землею.''

''Opposite that Анадырской Нос [Чукотский Полуостров, Мыс Дежнева] from both sides from Ковымское море [Колымское Море, now the Чукотское Море] and from Анандырское [Море, *sic*, now the Анадырский Залив of the Bering Sea] there is said [to be an] island [the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales], and [the] Носовые Чюхчи [the cape-Chukchi named] Makachkin narrated/told stories to him Петр [and to his] companions from first-hand experience.

''there are on that island [America, Alaska] tooth people [the Kinugmiut Eskimo] (7), and [their] beliefs and every other [of their] customs and language [are] not of them Chukchi people (8), and from antiquity and up to [the] present with them Cape Chukchi [and] these island people between them [is] not peaceful, they fight with one another; and [in] battle [sometimes the] island people have better and [at other times] such [is the] same with [the] Chukchi (8). And he Петр with companions saw 10 men [of] these island people with [the] Chukchi captured [as] prisoners of war. And these [island] people have teeth, [besides] natural ones, these are small inserted bones of walrus [*Trichechus rosmarus* L.] teeth, alongside [their] natural ones, in [their] cheeks (7).

''And from this cape [Мыс Дежнева] to that island in summer time [it is a] one day crossing in oared baidaras, and in winter on reindeer (9) [it is] easily same one day crossing (10).

''And there is on that island [Cape Prince of Wales] every wild animal, sables [*Martes americana*] (11) and martens [probably mink *Mustela vison* Schreber] (12) and all foxes and arctic foxes [*Alopex lagopus*], and wolves [*Canis lupus* L.], and wolverines [*Gulo luscus* (L.)] (13), and white bears [*Thalarctos maritimus*], and sea beavers [sea otters *Enhydra lutris* (L.)], and they keep/hold large herds of reindeer (9).

''And they eat marine [page 459] animals and berries and roots and grass. And every[where] on that island there is forest; cedar, pine, fir, spruce, larch (14). And he Петр and his companions saw wood from that island [Seward Peninsula] with them Chukchi in [their] baidaras and in branches and in yurts (15). And they island people [Alaskan Eskimos] live the same as them Chukchi, and [those] people have no chieftains. . . .

''[The] Island people [Alaskan Eskimo captives], Makachkin and [the] island people comparing [the] very same, those [Eskimo] captives with [the] Chukchi, told him Петр and his companions: there are three times [that many Eskimo captives] among [the] Chukchi, and he Макачкин had been on that island [Cape Prince of Wales] over many years on campaigns, and they Chukchi call that island [the] great land.''

Unlike the forgotten Атласов Chukchi report of 1701, Попов's report and map of 1711 exerted a prompt and lasting influence upon Russian authorities at Анадырск. We may also take Попов's report and map of 1711 as marking the first time in which a Чукчи report of Alaska was effectively brought to the attention of Russian officials, for within three years two major manuscript maps of easternmost Siberia were compiled on which both the Diomede Islands and the Alaskan mainland are depicted, one of which would eventually be incorporated in a map published in 1723.

THE REMEZOV/POPOV MAP of 1712-1714

In his deposition of 1711, Попов mentions that he had received specific instructions to prepare a map of the Chukchi Peninsula ''той ихъ Чюкоцкой земл*е* написать чертежъ''(16). Popov's 1711 journal and map have long since vanished; however, I strongly suspect that geographical data from Попов's map were very likely incorporated on manuscript maps compiled shortly after 1711 by Семен Ульянович Ремезов (1642-*post*1720), and Иван Львов.

Within 1712-1714, a manuscript map of the Камчатка region was compiled by Semen Ul'yanovich Remezov Семен Ульянович Ремезов (1642-*post*1720), a pioneer Russian cartographer stationed at Тобольск (17). This map constitutes an exceedingly important achievement in the history of early Siberian cartography, for it is the first surviving map to depict the 1697-1711 discoveries of Атласов and later Russian explorers in Камчатка (18); and, it is one of the surviving first two or three manuscript maps to depict the Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales)—based almost certainly upon geographical data of the Bering Strait area derived from Попов's map of 1711. This, and the contemporary Львов/Попов map of 1712-1714, are epochal documents in the history of Alaska, for they represent the first cartographic representations of Alaska derived from an authentic source. Because this

Ремезов map depicts Попов's data on Cape Prince of Wales from his 1711 journey (19), and because the Kurile Islands are absent (the first Russians to visit the Kuriles were Данило Анциферов and Иван Петрович Козыревский during 1712-1713), this map was thus compiled within 1712-1714.

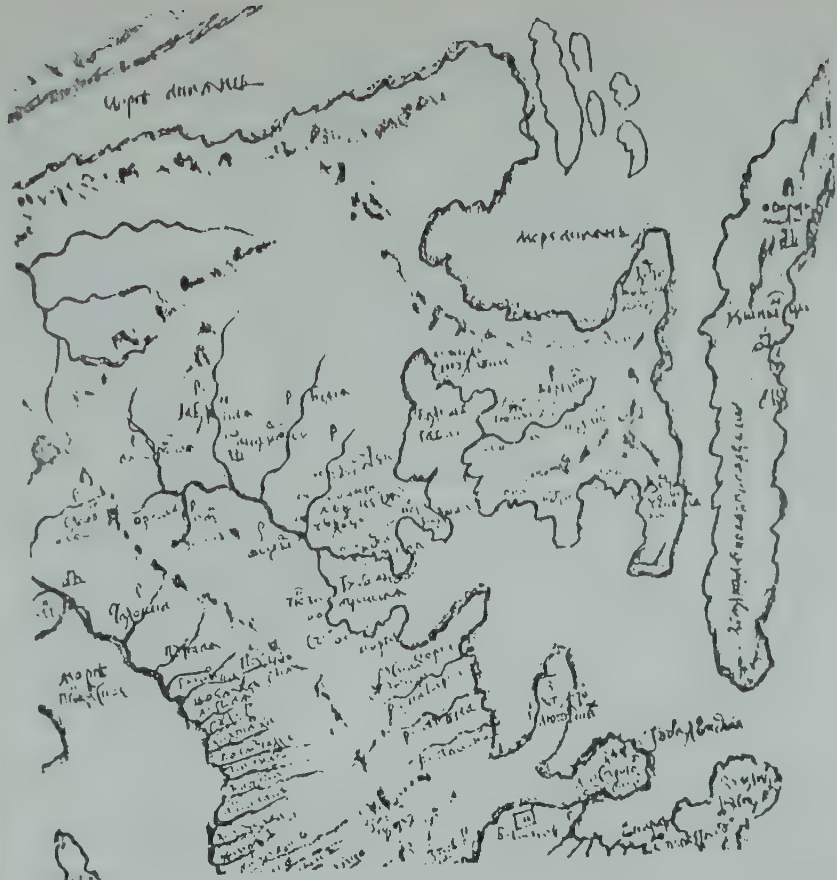
MS map — Семен Ульянович Ремезов (compiler, 1642-*post*1720), Владимир Атласов (*d.*1711), Петр Ильин Попович, 1712-1714, Тобольск.

> [Чертеж вновь Камчадальские земли и моря. Untitled manuscript map, depicting the Охотское Море, Камчатка, Чукотский Полуостров, Bering Strait, and Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales).]
>
> [1712-1714. Тобольск]. Manuscript map, 20 x 31.1 cm.
>
> *Location:* Салтыков-Щедрин Государственная Публичная Библиотека (Ленинград), рукописный отдел, Эрмитажное собрание, № 237 ''Служебная чертежная книга С. У. Ремезова,'' л. 102 (в разворот).
>
> *References:* Крашенинников (1949) с. 799 facsimile; Ефимов (1950) сс. 88-91; Bagrow (1951) pp. 91-92; Ефимов (1964) с. 33, карта 48 facsimile; Гольденберг (1965) сс. 189, 193; Ефимов (1971) с. 153 facsimile; Fisher (1977) pp. 66, 38 -39.

On this map, the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales appears as an elongated island (Попов and probably even the Чукчи were unaware as to its continental nature), this being designated as Землица вновь проведанная ''Land recently reported.'' Midway up this 'island' are two symbols designated as Кынынцы, perhaps signifying the Чукчи term for the Eskimo tribe present here. Farther north is a village symbol designated as остроги многи, ''many fortified-villages'' (20).

Above: Detail from the manuscript Ремезов map of 1712-1714.

Below: The printed Tabbert-Ремезов map of 1730, *Nova Descriptio Geografica Tartariæ Magnæ* (65x100 cm; Stockholm, 1730), this being the third published reference to Alaska (see page 116 *infra*).

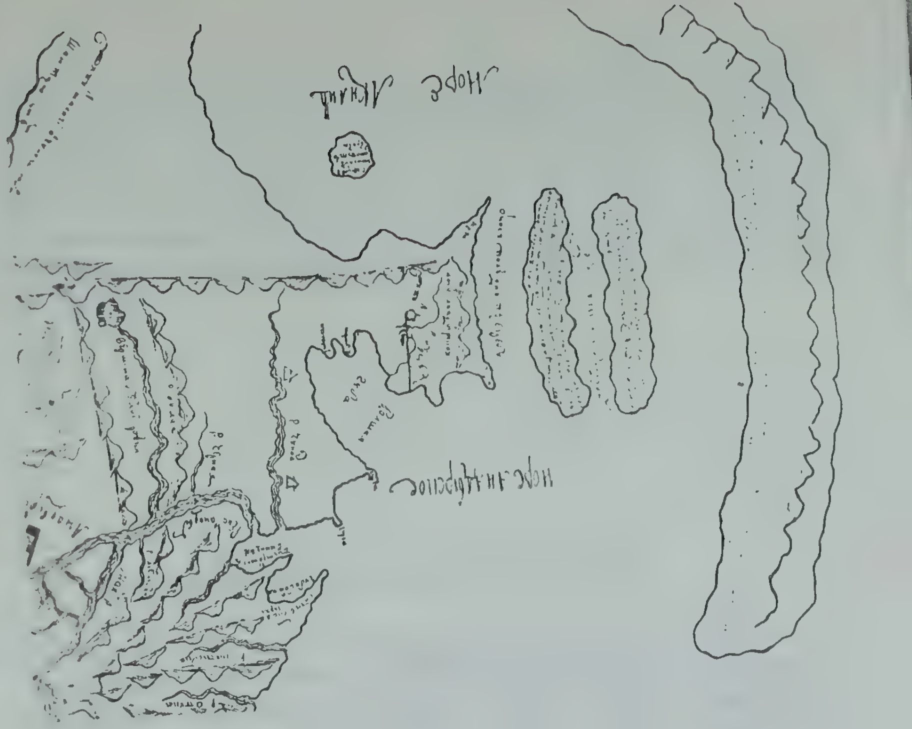


The L'VOV-POPOV MAP of 1712-1714

Within 1712-1714, a detailed large-scale map was prepared of the Анадырь basin and the Чукотский Полуостров. This has been attributed to Ivan L'vov Иван Львов, who during 1710-1714 served as military commandant at Anadyrsk Анадырск. Львов was likely responsible for having this chart drawn up; however, the geographical detail for the Чукотский Полуостров was almost certainly taken from Попов's manuscript map of 1711. There is some minor variation in the details of the Chukchi Peninsula, but the general outlines are so similar to those on the Ремезов map of 1712-1714, that there is little doubt that both maps drew from a common source for their depiction of the Chukchi Peninsula—Попов's manuscript map of 1711. This map is of particular interest as, not only does it share with the 1712-1714 Ремезов map the distinction of being the first map to depict Alaska and the Bering Strait, it is also the first map to portray the two Diomede Islands.

MS map—Иван Львов? (compilor), Петр Ильин Попов, 1712-1714, Анадырск.

> [Карта Якутского дворянина Ивана Львова. Untitled manuscript map, depicting the Река Анадыр, Чукотский Полуостров, and Bering Strait.]
>
> [1712-1714. Анадырск.] Manuscript map, 44 x 33 cm.
>
> *Location:* Центральный Государственный Архив Древних Актов (Москва), Библиотека Моск. Главного Архива МИД, фонд 192, Карта Иркутской губернии, № 26 ''Карта изображающая Анадырский острог и Анадырское море,'' (По реестру географ. атласам, пунктам, планам и театрам войны [assembled during 1816-1877]).
>
> *References:* Ефимов (1948) сс. 98-99, facsimile facing с. 98; Крашенинников (1949) с. 801 facsimile; Ефимов (1950) сс. 110-115, с. 111 facsimile; Ефимов (1964) с. 39, карта 55 facsimile; Ефимов (1971) сс. 156-157 facsimile; Fisher (1977) pp. 45-46, 64-76.



This map is of far greater importance for the history of Alaska than is the contemporary Ремезов map of 1712-1714, for the Львов-Попов map of 1712-1714 is on a much larger scale, it gives more details of the Bering Strait area, contains detailed verbal descriptions (in archaic Cyrillic script), and it depicts for the first time in cartographic form the two Diomede Islands. Moreover, Попов's Bering Strait data, in the Львов form, was subsequently incorporated on the manuscript Bruce map of 1717-1722, and thus finally published on the Homann map of 1723.

The Львов-Попов map of 1712-1714 depicts the Залив Креста ''болшая губа'' with its two interior capes ''култун, морков'' and east-side stream ''р[ека]. березовка''; the Чукотский Полуостров, on which ''живут Чюкчи''; the first definite cartographic reference to Остров Врангеля (21) ''Островъ на нем живутъ чукчи''; and the mountainous east end of the Chukchi Peninsula ''нось анадырской,'' with Мыс Чаплина ''горга'' and Мыс Дежнева ''горга.'' The Chukchi Sea is ''Море Акиан,'' while the Анадырский Залив is ''Море Анадырское.''

From the eastern tip of the Чукотский Полуостров, it is ''from cape half-day journey'' ''от носу польдия перегребу'' to reach Big Diomede Island.

Big Diomede Island bears the following inscription, in archaic Cyrillic script and semi-literate diction:

> ''на сем острову живут людї по чюкоцкї зовомы ахю/халятъ (22) язык собо [свой] плава[ть]е носят уточье и гагарьех кот / а питаются моржем и китом а безлесно а вместо дров / костье варятъ з жїром (23).''

> ''on this island live people which by [the] Chukchi [are] called Akhiukhaliat (22) their language [meaning unclear] and seal / and nourish [themselves on] walrus and whale and [the island is] treeless and along with firewood piles [is also lacking] [they] cook with fat (23).''

This description contains data somewhat similar to those contained in a report on the Diomede Islands prepared in 1763 by Николай Дауркин (24), thus presenting the suggestion that Дауркин had access at Анадырск to Попов's field journal, or his manuscript map of 1711, or to both.

Between Big and Little Diomede Island is the notation ''двои сутки в байдарах,'' indicating that the journey from Мыс Дежнева to Little Diomede Island is ''two 24-hour-days in baidaras.''

Little Diomede Island bears the following inscription:

> ''на сем островю живут люди по чюкчих зовомы / пезкелы зубатые платье уточье и остроги / у них есть''

> ''on this island live people by [the] Chukchi called / Pezkely (25) [who] barter tusks [meaning unclear] and they have fortified villages''

The Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales is designated with the following notation:

> ''землiца Большая а на ней живут люди по чюкоцки зовомы Кигинэлят (26) язык собоi [свой] и парки носят собольи лисьи и оленьи а зверь всякой соболи / и лисицы и оленi есть а юрты у них в земле а бой лучной (27) а лес на неi сосняк и листвях ельник и березник и острог у них''

> ''great land [Cape Prince of Wales] and on her live people by [the] Chukchi called Kigineliat (26) their language [meaning unclear] sables foxes and reindeer and every wild animal there are sables and foxes and reindeer [*sic*, repetitious] and they have yurts in [that] land and fight better [than the Chukchi] (27) and [the] wood/forest on her [on the great land is] pine and with foliage fir-wood and birch-wood and they have fortified village.''

Again, this description is so similar to Попов's deposition of September 1711 (see pp. 100-103 *supra*), that it is almost certain that the Bering Strait region on the Львов map of 1712-1714 was based upon Попов's own 1711 manuscript map (now lost) of the Чукотский Полуостров and the Bering Strait area; and that the inscriptions appearing on the Diomede Islands and Cape Prince of Wales (Alaska) on the Львов map were either written by Попов or taken from his journal/deposition/map of 1711 (28).

The PRINTED BRUCE-HOMANN MAP of 1723

The Попов data on the Bering Strait area appearing on the manuscript Попов-Львов map of 1712-1714 was subsequently incorporated on a manuscript map of the Камчатка region compiled within 1717-1722 by a close friend of Петр I, фельдмаршал граф Jacob Bruce. In June 1722, with the sanction of Петр I, Bruce sent a copy of his composite manuscript map to the well-known Deutsch cartographer Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724) of Nürnberg, Imperial Cartographer to the Austrian court, who then engraved the map and had copies of it printed there in 1723. Although the Bruce-Homann map was officially ''published'' in Homann's atlas of 1725, recent studies by Russian scholars have revealed that this specific map was actually printed by Homann in 1723 as a separate map sheet, specimens of which were then sent to Санктпетербургъ (29).

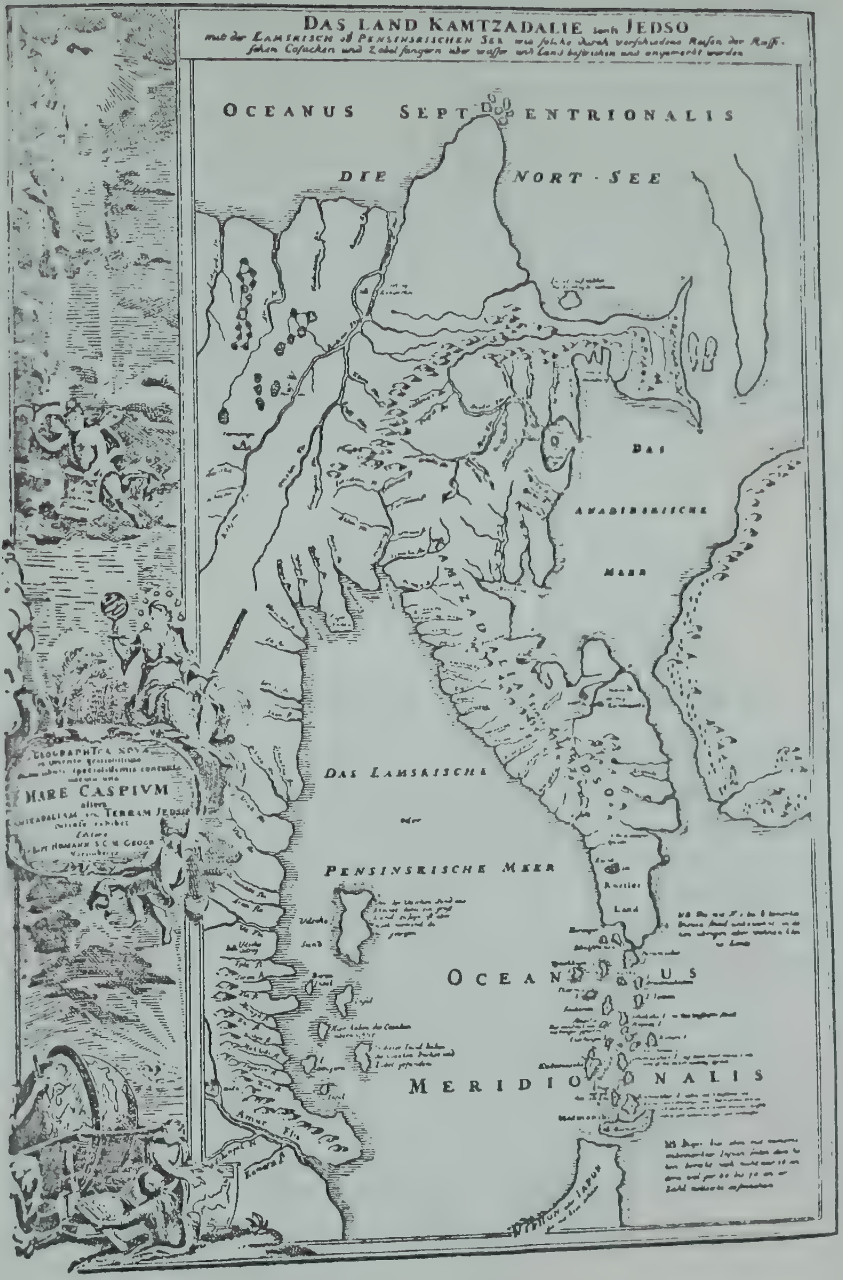
This epochal chart is one of the rarest and most important printed maps pertaining to western North America and Alaska, for it constitutes the first published direct reference to the Bering Strait, the first published representation of the Bering Strait and the Diomede Islands derived from authentic sources (30), the first printed map of Камчатка, as well as the first printed map based upon genuine field data to depict Asia as being separate from America. This was native Chukchi data, that had been transmitted to Europe via Попов's map of 1711 (as incorporated on the Bruce and Homann maps), and was now published in 1723—prior to Bering's voyage to the Bering Strait in 1728, and nearly a decade prior to the first Russian sighting of mainland Alaska in 1732 by Михаил С. Гвоздев.

Of even greater significance, this is the first printed map to depict mainland Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales), and it thus constitutes *the first published reference to Alaska*. Thus the first printed reference to Alaska, as well as the first printed map to depict any part of Alaska and the Bering Strait, was published in Europe five years before Bering visited the Bering Strait, and nine years before Gvozdev in 1732 became the first Russian to sight the Alaskan mainland (at Cape Prince of Wales).

This Попов-Львов-Bruce-Homann map of 1723 was used by Петр I in late 1724 when drawing up the instructions for the first Bering voyage of 1728; this map exerted a profound influence upon Петр's conception of the Bering Sea region as well as upon his specific instructions for Bering. And, it is very likely that Bering carried a copy of this and other Homann maps with him during his voyages of 1728 (31) and 1741 (32).

Jacob Bruce, Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724), compilors, 1723, Nürnberg.

> Geographica Nova / ex Oriente gratiofiffima / duabus tabuli fpecialiffimis contenta / quarum una / Mare Caspivm / altera / Kamtzadaliam seu Terram Jedso / curiofe exhibet / *Editore* / Jo Bapt Homann S. C. M. Geogr / Norimbergæ
>
> [right half of the plate:] *Das Land Kamtzadalie sonft Jedso / mit der Lamskisch od[er] Pensinskischen See, wie folche durch verfchiedene Reifen der Ruffi- / fchen Cofacken und Zobelfangern über waffer und Land beftrichen und angemerkt worden.*
>
> 1723. Nürnberg: Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724). Engraved map. The left half depicts the Caspian Sea, the right half portrays Kamchatka.
>
> *References:* Ефимов (1948) cc. 100-101 facsimile; Ефимов (1950) cc. 112-113 facsimile; Лебедев (1950) c.243 facsimile; Bagrow (1951) p. 93, facsimile facing p. 92; Варeп (1959) cc. 290-298, c. 291 facsimile; Греков (1960) c. 27 facsimile; Ефимов (1964) cc. 40-41, карта 58 facsimile; Полевой (1970) cc. 99-105; Ефимов (1971) cc. 162, 164, 171; Fisher (1977) pp. 64-67, 69-70, 77.
>
> *Specimens:* Академия Наук СССР (Ленинград), Библиотек, отделение картографии (2 specimens). Specimens are also bound in with the Homann atlas of 1725 listed below.



Specimens of the Bruce-Homann Камчатка map of 1723 are also bound in with Homann's atlas of 1725 (33):

Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724) compilor, 1725, Nürnberg.

Atlas novus terrarum orbis. Imperia regna et status exactis tabulis geographice demonstrans. Opera Johannis Baptistæ Homanni Sacræ Cæs. Maj. Geographi, et Regiæ Boruss. Societ. Scient. Membri. Noribergæ.

Grosser Atlas über die gantze Welt. Von Johann Baptist Homann, der Röm. Kays. Majestät Geograph, und Mit-Glied der Königl. Preussischen Societät der Wissenschaften.

MDCCXXV [1725]. Nürnberg: In Verlegung des Auctoris. Gedruckt bey Johann Ernst Adelbulner. [This atlas contains maps dated and printed from 1710 to as late as 1778.]

42 pages (54 cm), 173-plus maps, to as many as 212 (equals 238) maps.

References: Вареп (1959) сс. 290-298; *National Union Catalogue*, vol. 252, p. 623, items 484549-484554, 484571; Library of Congress catalogue card YA, 18012

Specimens: Clements Library (2 copies: 212/238 maps, and 61 maps); Harvard University (36 maps); Huntington Library (212/238 maps); Lehigh University (Bethlehem, Penn., 126 maps on 252 pages); Library of Congress (2 copies: 212/238 maps, and 61 maps); University of Michigan (212/238 maps); U. S. Military Academy, West Point (36 maps); Newberry Library (2 copies: 212/238 maps, and 191 maps); Princeton University (173 *plus* maps)

The Bruce-Homann Камчатка map of 1723 depicts the Чукотский Полуостров, the two Diomede Islands, and the Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales) with nearly the identical outlines as these appear on the manuscript Попов-Львов map of 1712-1714. The representation of Камчатка differs considerably from that on the manuscript Ремезов map of 1712-1714, indicating that a different source of geographic data was available to Bruce for this region.

Also present on the 1723 map is the first published depiction of the Kurile archipelago: the first Russians to visit the northern Курильские Острова, via the southern tip of Камчатка, were Данило Анциферов and Иван Козыревский during 1712-1713, followed in 1721 by Фёдор Лужин (*d.* 1727) and Иван Евреинов (*d.* 1723-24).

Of particular interest is the hypothetical land mass positioned directly east of Камчатка. This had earlier appeared on the manuscript Ремезов map of 1712-1714, but with a much smaller configuration. As with most geographical myths, this land mass had its basis in fact: it may represent rumors among the natives of Kamchatka as to an island east of Камчатка. There is indeed a small island here (nowhere so large as depicted on the 1723 map), Остров Беринга, where Bering was to shipwreck and die in 1741; and which on clear days can be seen from high points on the east-central coast of Камчатка. However, this land mass more likely represents a grossly distorted misrepresentation of Остров Карагинский, just off the north east coast of Kamchatka, which was first visited by Иван Голыгин about the year 1700. This island appears in a greatly exaggerated and elongated form on the manuscript 1712-1714 map of Фёдор Бейтон (see below), which may have been a source utilized by Jacob Bruce (and/or his subordinates) in compiling his manuscript map of 1717-1722.

This imaginary land mass which the 1722 map depicts east of Камчатка is particular importance, for it represents the geographical image of this region which Петр I had in his mind in late 1724 when he drew up the instructions for the first Bering voyage of 1728.

The Maps of 1712-1714 (Beiton), 1726, and 1730 (Tabbert).

Another representation of Камчатка, the Чукотский Полуостров, and Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales) appears on a manuscript map compiled within 1712-1714 by Фёдор Бейтон. As with the Ремезов map of 1712-1714, this map can be dated as no earlier than 1712 due to the presence of Alaska data (Попов returned to Анадырск by September 1711), and no later than 1714 due to the absence of the Курильские Острова (visited by Анциферов and Козыревский during 1712-1713). The Alaskan and Chukchi data on this Бейтон map almost certainly reflect knowledge of Попов's visit to the Chukchi natives in 1711; but they are schematic and generalized, indicating that the compiler of the map probably did not have personal access to Попов's manuscript map of 1711. Directly east of the Чукотский Полуостров is the Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales), depicted as an island. Directly east of Kamchatka is Остров Карагинский, which an inscription credits Иван Голыгин with having visited.

MS map — **Фёдор Бейтон** (compiler), 1712-1714.

[Карта мест, от река Енисея до Камчатки лежащих. Untitled manuscript map, depicting the Река Лена, Охотское Море, Камчатка, Чукотский Полуостров, Bering Strait, and Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales).]

[1712-1714]. Manuscript map, 70 x 48.5 cm.

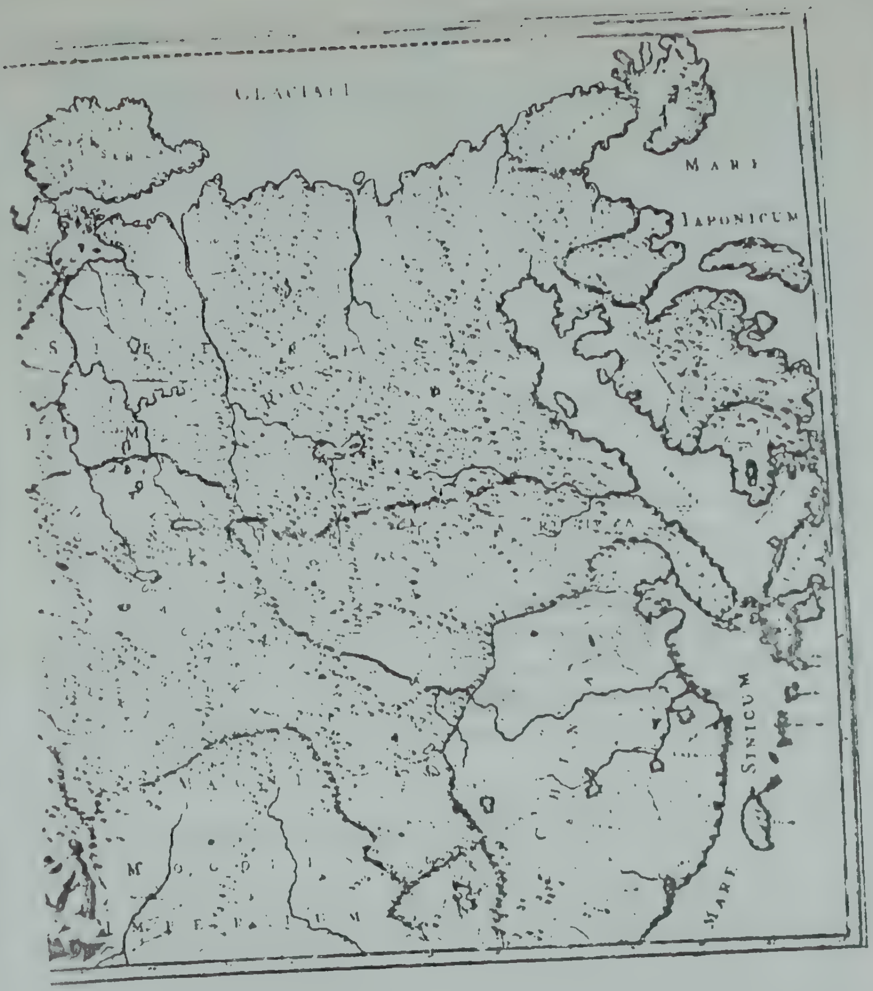
Location: Центральный Государственный Архив Древних Актов (Москва), Библиотека Моск. Главного Архива МИД, фонд 192, Карта Иркутской губернии, № 29. (По реестру географ. атласам, пунктам, планам и театрам войны [assembled during 1816-1877].)

References: Ефимов (1948) facsimile facing c. 96; Крашенинников (1949) карта 3 facsimile; Ефимов (1964) cc. 38-39, карта 54

On this Бейтон map of 1712-1714, Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales) is depicted as an insular mass east of the Чукотский Полуостров, and bearing the following inscription:

> ''землица а на ней живут по чукоцки кыкыкмеи / а походят на юкачирей а платье у них парки лисьи / и зело изликны а бой у них лучной а звери соболи и лисицы есиь а древа / на нем соснак и березник.''
>
> ''land and on her live [people] by [the] Chukchi [called] Kikikmei and walk on [?] and barter with them [?] foxes and fight [meaning unclear] and battle with them better [than the Chukchi] and there are wild animals and foxes and wild animals [*sic*, redundant] / on it [are] pine forest and birch tree''

In 1726 a map of Russia was printed in French, which depicts Kamchatka, the Bering Strait, and Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales). Although it differs in many details from the previous Бейтон map of 1712-1714, there is enough of a similarity among some of the configurations to suggest that the 1726 map drew data either from the Бейтон 1712-1714 map, or from a source common to both maps. This 1726 map represents the second published reference to Alaska and the Diomede Islands, and the second published cartographic representation of the Bering Strait.



map — 1726.

Carte Nouvelle / de / Tout l' Empire / de la / Grande Russie / dans l' estat où il s' est trouvé à la mort / de / Pierre le Grand . . .

1726. Engraved map.

References: Греков (1960) c. 16 facsimile

Specimens: Центральный Государственный Военно-исторический Архив (Москва), фонд ВУА, № 21082.

Yet a third printed reference to Alaska and cartographic representation of the Bering Strait appears on a map of Russia *Nova Descriptio Geografica* (see p. 105 *supra*), published in 1730 within a book by Philip Johann Tabbert (von Strahlenberg, Stralenberg, 1676-1747). Tabbert was a Swedish officer who was captured by the Russian army at the disastrous battle of Полтава (1709), during the ill-fated 1708-1709 campaign of Carl XII in the Украин. He was sentenced to a comparatively mild form of incarceration at Тобольск for a decade (1711-1721), during which time he collected extensive notes on the history and geography of Siberia (34). After his return to Sverige, Tabbert published his Siberian treatise at Stockholm in 1730:

Tabbert (Strahlenberg), 1730, Stockholm.

> Das nord- und östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze russische Reich mit Sibirien und der grossen Tartarei in sich begreisset, in einer historisch-geographischen Beschreibung.
>
> 1730. Stockholm. 438 pages quarto.
>
> *References:* Салтыков-Щедрин (1873) S-2847; Golder-Bering (1922) vol. 1, p. 356; Берг (1935) c. 53 *facsimile*; Гнучева (1946) cc. 12, 132; Ефимов (1950) c. 100; Греков (1960) cc. 174, 338; Ефимов (1964) c. 49, карта 74; Majors (1966) part 2, p. 1; Fisher (1977) pp. 76, 205; *National Union Catalogue*, vol. 572, p. 280, item 986047; LC card no. 54-48423; LC call no. DK, 23, S85.
>
> *Specimens:* British Library (2 copies); Bibliothèque Nationale; Салтыков-Щедрин Публичная Библиотека (Ленинград); American Philisophical Society (Philadelphia); Harvard University; Indiana University; Library of Congress; University of Michigan; University of Minnesota; Newberry Library; Peabody Institute (Baltimore); Yale University
>
> *Later Editions:* English (London 1736, London 1738, both in British Library; facsimile reprint New York 1970); German (Leipzig *circa* 1750, in Салтыков-Щедпин); French (Amsterdam 1757 with Bering's ''Relation'', in British Library); and Spanish (Valencia 1780, in Салтыков-Щедрин)

This map was most likely obtained by Tabbert within 1711-1721 from the Siberian cartographer Семен У. Ремезов, who at this time was also stationed at Тобольск. The map depicts the Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales) as an elongated island east of the Chukchi Peninsula, derived ultimately from the Попов map of 1711. However, the depiction of Камчатка and easternmost Сибирь is sufficiently different from that on the printed maps of 1723 and 1726 to suggest that it was derived from a separate cartographic phylogeny.

THE 1715 REPORT OF AN ESKIMO PARTY

The chronicler and historian of the second Bering expedition, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), who was stationed at Якутск from September 1736 to July 1737, learned of a 1715 report that a party of alien natives (probably Eskimo) had earlier arrived at Остров Карагинский, just off the northern east coast of Камчатка. They had come from a land across the sea to the east, on which there were large rivers, and on which conifer trees grew unlike those present in Kamchatka. All of these alien natives were killed by the fierce resident Коряки on Остров Карагинский, with the exception of one who managed to escape to Камчатка (35).

These alien natives were most likely, not Aleuts from the Aleutian Islands, but instead Eskimos from the Alaskan mainland near the mouth of the Yukon River, who had drifted on the cold Oya Shio current that flows southwest from the Bering Strait, or who paddled westward across the Bering Sea. The two largest rivers in western Alaska are the Yukon and the Kuskokwim, which drain into the Bering Sea through coastal Eskimo territory. Moreover, the largest concentration of trees in western Alaska, chiefly Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*) which is not present in Kamchatka, are associated with the valleys of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers. In contrast, the Aleut territory of the Aleutian Islands and the Alaskan Peninsula lacks any large rivers, and is nearly devoid of trees.

THE TATARINOV CHUKCHI REPORT OF 1718

In 1718 the military commandant at Анадырский острог, Петр Иванович Татаринов, learned from a party of visiting Chukchi natives (36) that a forested land was present across the sea, to the east of the Чукотский Полуостров. During September-October 1725, as Bering and Чириков were preparing to winter at Илимск, they met with Татаринов, who then passed this information on to them (37). We know of the content of Татаринов's report to Bering and Чириков only through a phrase within a written statement made by третий-капитан Алексей Ильич Чириков (1703-1748) on August 13, 1728 (Sosigenian), at the north entrance to the Bering Strait. In this statement, while discussing the possibility of having to spend the winter in that region, Chirikov refers to the area (38)

> ''против Чукотского носу, на земле, на которой, по полученной скаске от чукоч чрез Петра Татаринова, имеется лес.''
>
> ''opposite to Chukchi cape, on land, on which, according to received account from Chukchi via Петр Татаринов, has forest.''

This report may likely have influenced Bering's decision to sail north/northeast from Kamchatka to the Чукотский Полуостров and Bering Strait in 1728, instead of heading due east or ENE as the царь's instructions may have implied.

On a manuscript map of northeast Siberia prepared in 1724 by Иван Кирилович Кирилов (1689-1737), the leading cartographer of Russia of his time, depicts a large island immediately east of the Чукотский Полуостров (39). On a manuscript map compiled within 1725-1726 by А. Ф. Шестаков (40), islands are depicted directly north and south of the Чукотский Полуостров, with inscriptions containing data similar to those on the Львов-Попов and Ремезов maps of 1712-1714 (*id est*, many sables and foxes). This latter map is rather crude and distorted, but it reflects the presistence of Chukchi knowledge concerning the existence of a large land mass east of the Чукотский Полуостров across the Bering Strait, and the increasing awareness among Russian officials as to this fact. Even had not Bering embarked upon his 1728 voyage, it would only have been a matter of time before Russian officials would have sent out another expedition to investigate the reality of the Chukchi report as to the existence of a large land mass to the east across the Bering Strait.

THE MEL'NIKOV ESKIMO REPORT OF 1730

Yet another native report on the existence of Alaska (this time an Eskimo report) came to Russian attention in 1730, two years after the first Bering voyage and two years prior to Гвоздев's voyage to Cape Prince of Wales. Афанасий Мельников was sent from Якутск to the Chukchi Peninsula in 1725 in an effort to obtain taxes or tribute from the still unsubjugated Chukchi natives there. While among the Чукчи in April 1730, those natives were visited by two Eskimo men, probably from the Diomede Islands:

> ''6. A late report of Captain Pavlutski, which was sent from Kamchatka, stated that recently Afanasi Melnikov with a small party returned from Chukchi Cape. This Melnikov was sent from Yakutsk in 1725 to bring the natives [Chukchi] under subjection and make them pay tribute.
>
> ''Melnikov reported that in April 1730 when he was on Chukchi peninsula, two men who had walrus teeth [ornaments] inserted [in their lips or cheeks] near their own teeth, came to Chukchi on peninsula from island in sea, and they told him that it is one day's journey from Chukchi peninsula to their home island on which they have their dwellings, and that it is also one day's journey from this island to another island ahead of them one which is called great land, where there are to be had all kinds of animals—sables, foxes, beaver, land otters, wolverine, lynx, wild deer—an where there are also forests of all kinds and a sufficient number of reindeer natives and ''foot'' natives.'' (41)

INDICATIONS AS TO THE EXISTENCE OF ALASKA

In addition to the persistent Chukchi report concerning the presence of the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales, during 1728, while in Камчатка and in the Bering Sea, флота-капитан (1-го ранга) Witus Jonassen Bering (1681-1741) observed or learned of several phenomena that indicated the presence of an unseen land mass to the east, across the Bering Sea.

On April 30, 1730, shortly after his return to Санктпетербургъ from his 1728 voyage, Bering submitted two sets of recommendations for yet another voyage of discovery from Камчатка. Item one in the second set of recommendations mentions two observations made by Bering in 1728 that suggested the presence of a land mass east of Камчатка (42):

> ''Понеже, выведывая, изобрел я, что далее оста то море волнами ниже подымается, таком и на берег острова, именуемого Карагинской, великой сосновой лес, которого в Камчатской земле не ростет, выбросило; и для того признаваю я, что Америка или иныя между оной лежащия земли не очень далеко от Камчатки, например, 150 или 200 миль быть имеет.''
>
> ''Through exploring, I discovered, that farther east [in] that sea [Bering Sea] waves elevated themselves lower, and as such on coast of island, called Карагинский, great fir timber [*id est*, driftwood tree trunks], of which on Камчатка land it grows not, is cast ashore; and from this I acknowledge, that America or other lands lying between it [and Kamchatka] would have to be not very far from Камчатка, for example, 150 or 200 miles.''

Bering's observations are indeed valid: waves in the Bering Sea, especially the northern part where sheltered on the east by Alaska and on the west by the Чукотский Полуостров and Kamchatka, tend to be of less amplitude than on the open Pacific Ocean—provided, of course, that no storm is in progress over the sea.

Moreover, the course of surface currents in the Bering Sea is generally to the southwest, thus any large coniferous tree trunks (largely Sitka spruce *Picea sitchensis*) carried down by the Yukon River from the forested interior of Alaska would be washed out into the Bering Sea, some of which would eventually be carried southwest by the Oya Shio or eddy currents in the Bering Sea to the east coast of Камчатка.

The French geographer Joseph Nicolas Delisle (1688-1768), who served in the geographical department of the Академия Наук at Санктпетербургъ during 1726-1747, and whose half-brother would participate and die in the 1741 voyage of Bering and Чириков to Alaska, learned during 1730-1733 of several observations made by Bering in 1728 that also indicated the presence of a land mass east of Камчатка (43):

> ''Après le retour de M. Beerings à Péterfbourg, il m'apprit de bouche ce qu'il n'a pas dit dans fa relation, à fçavoir que, dans fon Voyage fur la côte Orientale de l'Afie, entre les latitudes de 50 & de 60 degrés, il avoit eu tous les indices poffibles d'une côte ou d'une terre à l'Eft. Ces indices font
>
> 1°. de n'avoir trouvé en s'éloignant de ces côtes, que peu de profondeur & des vagues baffes, telles qu'on les trouve ordinairement dans des détroits ou bras de Mer; bien différentes des hautes vagues que l'on éprouve fur les côtes expofées à [page 6] une Mer fort étendue.
>
> 2°. D'avoir trouvé des pins & autres arbres déracinés, amenés par le vent d'Eft, au lieu qu'il n'en croît point dans le Kamtchatka.
>
> 3°. D'avoir appris des gens du Pays, que le vent d'Eft peut amener les glaces en deux ou trois jours, au lieu qu'il faut quatre ou cinq jours de vent d'Oueft pour les emporter [les glaces] de la côte Nord-Eft de l'Afie.
>
> 4°. Que de certains oifeaux viennent réguliérement tous les ans dans les mêmes mois du côté de l'Eft, & qu'après avoir paffé quelques mois fur les côtes de l'Afie, ils s'en retournent auffi réguliérement dans la mème faifon.

> ''After the return of monsieur Bering to Sankpeterburg, he informed me by mouth that which is not mentioned in his report, which is to know, in his voyage on the east coast of Asia, between the latitudes of 50 and of 60 degrees, he had all possible indications of a coast or a land to the east. These indications are
>
> 1°. of having found on moving away from that coast, only shallowness [little depth] and low waves, which are usually found in straits or arms of the sea; quite different from the high waves which are encountered on the coasts exposed to [page 6] a strong expansive ocean (44).
>
> 2°. Of having found fir and other uprooted trees, brought by the east wind, but which do not grow at all in Kamchatka (45).
>
> 3°. Of having learned from the people of [that] country [Kamchatka], that the east wind could bring ice [icebergs] in two or three days, but that four or five days of the west wind is required for the removal [of ice] from the northeast coast of Asia.
>
> 4°. That certain birds came regularly every year in the same months from the coast from the east, and which after having passed several months on the coasts of Asia, they return themselves also as regularly at the same season (46).''

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(1) The ethnology of the various Eskimo tribes of the Bering Strait area has been described in detail in: E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait.* Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, vol.18,for 1896-97 (Washington, 1899), pp. 3-518.

(2) The ''impassable cape'' is the eastern tip of the Чукотский Полуостров. During the summer, the pack ice of the Arctic Ocean can be found to the ''left'' or north of this peninsula—it would stop James Cook near Icy Cape at 70° 44' N. latitude in August 1778. The easternmost cape, appropriately named Мыс Дежнева, does become completely ice-bound in winter, as well as part of the spring; while during the summer it is completely free of ice.

(3) The Mongoloid Chukchi natives of northeasternmost Siberia are ethnographically distinct from the Kinigmiut Eskimo who inhabit the western tip of Cape Prince of Wales, and under normal circumstances would not be able to comprehend each other's language (as was noted in 1711 by Петр Попов).

Linguistic studies have demonstrated that the present Eskimo-Aleut languages of western Alaska are indeed related to the Chukchi-Koriak-Kamchadal language family of northeasternmost Siberia: Morris Swadesh, ''Linguistic relations across Bering Strait,'' *American Anthropologist*, vol. 64, 1962, pp. 1262-1291. This is of particular interest, in that this marked the first time that a linguistic affinity had been established between an Amerindian language of the New World and a Mongoloid tongue of Asia. From linguistic differences, Swadesh estimated that the Alaskan and Siberian languages had diverged from a common ancestral tongue about 2500 B.C.

As there was reciprocal captive-holding between the Chukchi and the Kinigmiut Eskimo, there were usually individuals present in given bands who could understand the other group's language. This, and trade relations, thus established a means of intercourse between the Asian and the Alaskan ethnic tribes.

St. Lawrence Island was inhabited, not by Чукчи, but by Eskimos, and during historic times Alaskan Eskimos have settled at Мыс Чаплина, Мыс Наварин, and even so far west as Залив Креста and Остров Врангеля. In view of this, one would expect individuals to be present among the Chukchi and the Kinugmiut Eskimo who would understand each other, as Атласов's informant relates.

For the ethnology of the various Eskimo tribes of westernmost Alaska, see: Edward William Nelson (1855-1934), *The Eskimo about Bering Strait.* Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 18,for 1896-97 (Washington, 1899), pp. 3-518.

For the ethnology of the Chukchi, see the papers by W. Bogoras (vol. 7) and W. I. Jochelson (vols. 6 and 9) in the *Memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition* (dating from 1904-1910); as well as the monograph by Иннокентий С. Вдовин, **Очерки Истории и Этнографии Чукчей** (402сс.; 1965, Ленинград: Академия Наук, Институт Этнографии).

(4) I cannot identify this species of fur pelt with certainty. Хорька in Russian refers to ''polecat'' in the European sense of the term – not the striped-tailed American skunk *Mephitis mephitis* which is native only to the New World, but instead to several species of the European ferret *Mustela* spp. and *Vormela sarmaticus*. In Siberia, this would be the weasel-like *Mustela eversmanni*.

As far as the identity of the pelt brought over by the Kinigmiut Eskimo to trade with the Chukchi, the presence of a striped tail rules out a marten or fisher *Martes* spp., or weasel or mink *Mustela* spp., for none of these species have striped pelts or tails. Nor do these species (except possibly the brownish weasel) have red fur; but in this case I suspect that Атласов is using the word красными in the other sense of this term, which means ''pretty.''

Атласов specifies that the length of the tail is one-quarter аршин, which is equivalent to 7 inches or 179 millimetres. Assuming that this was not an immature animal, on the

basis of tail length this would eliminate the fisher (340-422 mm), long-tailed weasel (311-545 mm), and ermine (42-59 mm). What we are left with are the marten (180-240 mm) and the mink (150-190 mm).

Although the raccoon does have a tail with transverse black and white stripes, we can eliminate this species as its range does not extend so far northward as to penetrate Alaska.

(5) Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), *Nachrichten von Seereisen, und zur See gemachten Entdeckungen, die von Russland aus längst den Küsten des Eissmeeres und auf dem östlichen Weltmeere gegen Japon und Amerika geschehen sind* (304pp.; St. Petersburg, 1758), pp. 56-60. This forms volume 3, parts 1-3 of Müller's *Sammlung Rußischer Geschichte* (9 Bände; St. Petersburg, 1732-1764). The Russian version of 1758 is merely a somewhat abridged translation of Müller's original Deutsch.

The Попов deposition, from Müller's book, is also mentioned in **Ежемесячние Соченения (Санктпетербургъ)**, 1786, сс. 152-156 (Bancroft *Alaska*, p. 27).

(6) The location of the surviving Попов deposition of 1711, known only through a copy made by Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) in late 1736 at the Якутск archives, is in the archives of the Академия Наук (Ленинград), papers of Gerhard Friedrich Müller, Якутская книга 5, актъ № 39. For the title of the 1882 publication of Попов's deposition of 1711, see p. 101 *supra*. This present English translation is my own.

A reprint of the section relevant to Alaska appears in: Дмитрий М. Лебедев, **География в России Петровского Времени** (383сс.; 1950, Москва и Ленинград: Академия Наук), сс. 90-91.

The Попов deposition is also briefly discussed in: Борис П. Полевой, ''Из истории открытия северо-западной части Америки, от первого известии сибирских землепроходцев об Аляске до петровского плана поиска морского к Америке,'' appearing in Иосеф Ромуальдович Григулевич (редактор), **От Аляски до Огненной Земли. История и Этнография Стран Америки** (371сс.; 1967, Москва: Академия Наук, Институт Этнографии), сс 107-120.

An English translation of the Попов deposition has appeared as: Петр Попов, ''Deposition of Yakutsk service-man Petr Popov,'' appearing within Raymond Henry Fisher (1907-), *The Voyage of Semen Dezhnev in* 1648: *Bering's Precursor*. Hakluyt Society Works, second series, no. 159 (326pp.; London, 1981), pp. 112-114. In what otherwise is an excellent translation, Fisher unfortunately has omitted the ethnographically most valuable passage of the entire deposition—the phrase ''*there are small inserted bones of walrus teeth, alongside* [*their*] *natural ones* [*teeth*], *in* [*their*] *cheeks.*''

(7) Попов's description of these ''island people'' as wearing ornaments of walrus teeth in their cheeks and mouth indisputably identifies these people as of an American Eskimo culture, for such a practice was unknown among the Asian Chukchi natives at this period of time.

The specific tribe described by the Chukchi native Макачкин to Попов, and of whom Попов saw ten slave-captives among the Chukchi, most likely were the Kinugmiut Eskimo of westernmost Cape Prince of Wales. It is possible, however, that these may also in part (or in all) have been the Kaviagmiut Eskimo, who inhabited the south and southwest shores of the Seward Peninsula.

During the summer of 1763, Николай Дауркин (a native Chukchi who had been raised since childhood by Russian foster parents at Анадырск) made a solo overland journey from Анадырск to Мыс Дежнева in the Chukchi country. That October, just after the Bering Strait had frozen over, Daurkin and another native Chukchi crossed the ice via reindeer sled to visit Big Diomede Island. Though he did not visit Little Diomede Island, or the Alaskan mainland, Дауркин provides a brief description of the walrus-tusk labrets worn by the Eskimo of Little Diomede Island. This description is very similar to the Popov/Makachkin account (1711) of the nearby mainland Eskimo on Cape Prince of Wales, and thus provides further confirmation that the natives described by Макачкин were indeed residents of Alaska. Daurkin's account is of particular value in that it describes the Diomede Island Eskimos prior to any extensive contact with Russian or other European traders:

Николай Дауркин, ''Befondere Nachrichten über die tfchuktfche Landfpitze und benachbarte Inseln,'' appearing in: Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811) editor, *Neue Nordifche Beyträge zur phyfikalifchen und geographifchen Erd- und Volkerbefchreibung, Naturgefchichte und Oekonomie* (7 vols.; St. Petersburg und Leipzig, 1781-1796), Band 1 (1781), article 14, pp. 245-248. My own translation is as follows:

> [Seite 247] ''Auf der andern Insel wohnen eben folche Leute als auf der ersten; die Einwhoner nennen fie *Pejestoli*. Den Kindern der Tojonen und Vornehmen pflegen fie die Unterlippen auf jeder Seite mit einer Oeffnung zu durchbohren, in welcher fie kleine, aus Wallroßzähnen gefchnitzte Zierrathen einfetzen, und zum Zeichen ihrer vornehmern Geburt tragen, auch nach Belieben ausnehmen können. Sonst find fie ihrer Tracht wie die Bewohner der ersten Insel.''
>
> ''On the other island [Little Diomede Island] live [the] same such people as on the first; the inhabitants call them *Pejeskoli*. They are in the habit of piercing a hole on each side of the lower lip of children of toyons [chiefs] and nobles, in which they place small ornaments carved out of walrus tusks, and worn as the mark of their noble birth, also [which they] at will can remove. They otherwise are in their dress like the inhabitants of the first island.''

Elsewhere, Pallas remarks in a footnote: Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), ''Erläuterungen über die im östlichen Ocean zwischen Siberien und America geschehenen Entdeckungen,'' appearing in *ibidem*, Band 1 (1781), pp. 273-313, *cit*. pp. 281-282, footnote f:

> ''Nach einem folchen Bericht heißet die ersten gegen die tfchuktfchifche Landecke anderthalb Tage Ruderns entfernt gelegene Insel *Magli*, deren Einwohner von den Tfchukotfchen *Reje-galilit* genennt werden. Von da tudere man zwey Tage nach der andern Insel *Obolgi*, deren Einwohner die Tfchukotfchen *Peikeli* nennen. Dann habe man noch zwey Tage bis zum feften Lande zu rudern, [Seite 282] wo zum Ausruhen noch ein Paar kleine Inseln *Ugun* gefunden würden. Die Einwohner diefer Infeln unterfcheiden fich nach allen Berichten von den Tfchukotfchen durch die in gewiffe Einfchnitte der Unterlippe eingefetzten Zähne; und diefe Gewohnheit fschreiben die Tfchukotfchen auch den Bewohnern des feften Landes zu, die fie als fehr kriegerifch befchreiben, und *Nynmaksyn* nennen follen.''
>
> ''According to one such report the first island lying opposite the Chukchi peninsula one and a half days distant rowing is called *Magli*, whose inhabitants by the Chukchi are called *Reye-Galilit*. From there one journeys two days to the other island *Obolgi*, whose inhabitants the Chukchi call *Peikeli*. Then one has to row yet [another] two days up to firm land [the mainland], where on the way are found yet a pair of small islands *Ugun*. The inhabitants of these islands differentiate themselves according to all reports from the Chukchi by teeth worn in certain incisions in the lower lip; and this custom is ascribed by the Chukchi also to the inhabitants of the firm land [mainland], whom they describe as very warlike, and are called *Nynmaksyn*.''

Another English translation of the Дауркин report appears in a monumental masterpiece of scholarship on early Alaskan history: James R. Masterson, Helen Brower (editors and translators), ''Bering's successors, 1745-1780,'' *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (Seattle), vol. 38, 1947, pp. 35-83, 109-155, *cit*. pp. 123-126.

Дауркин's map of 1763 depicting the Bering Strait, entitled ''Карта Севсровосточной Асїи и Северной Америки'' is presently located in the archives of the Академия Наук (Ленинград), картографический архив, № 3562. Facsimile reproductions of this appear in Л. С. Берг 1935 *inter* сс. 120-121 (the better facsimile of the two), and in the third edition Л. С. Берг 1946 facing c. 112. This map depicts the Bering Strait, the Чукоцский Полуостров, St. Lawrence Island, *three* Diomede Islands, and Cape Prince of Wales.

(8) Makachkin's comments here are also confirmed by what the Chukchi told иколай Дауркин in 1763 concerning the Eskimo inhabitants of mainland Cape Prince f Wales (Дауркин 1781, note 7 *supra*):

> ''Gegen das tfchukotfchifche Landsende liegen fowohl in Norden gegen das kowymifche, als in Often am anadyrfchen Meer, Küften, welche die Tfchukotfchen das *große Land* nennen. Sie erzählen, daß vort Leute wohnen, [Seite 248] die von ihnen in Sitten und Gewohnheiten ganz verfchieden find, eine eigene Sprache reden, und mit ihnen feit langer Zeit in Unfrieden leben, daher fie wechfelsweife gegen einander zum Streit ausziehen.''

> ''Opposite the Chukchi peninsula-end are coasts [Cape Prince of Wales], situated as much in the north opposite the Kolyma [Sea], as in east on on the Anadyr Sea, which the Chukchi call the *great land*. They report, that there people live, [page 248] who are entirely different from them in manners and customs, speak a separate language, and since a long time live in enmity with them, thus they alternately set out to attaçk against one another.''

(9) Попов uses the term олени, which signifies a stag deer as well as a deer. Properly eaking, reindeer are more correctly designated as северные олени. However, in this stance, since the олени are mentioned in a domesticated context, Попов means reindeer.'' His олени thus cannot refer to any of the wild deer of Siberia, nor to the feral acktail deer indigenous to North America *Odocoileus hemionus* (Rafinesque 1817), either of which have ever been successfully domesticated by man.

Of all the Cervidæ, the only species to be domesticated was the reindeer of nor- ernmost Eurasia *Rangifer tarandus* (Richardson 1829). Indeed, the massive variety of indeer in northeast Siberia was particularly suited for carrying a man on its back, acking goods, and pulling sleds. It is this species, *Rangifer tarandus*, on which the Chuk- i natives would ride across the frozen Bering Strait to visit the Diomede Islands. A ature reindeer could pull a 300-pound sled and travel 100 miles a day, and could subsist imarily on the lichen *Cladonia rangiferina* ''reindeer moss.''

The American variety of reindeer, or caribou as it is more commonly known, is presented in in northern and northwestern Alaska by the Arctic caribou *Rangifer randus arcticus*. The American and European varieties are so similar, that in all elihood the American caribou has descended from herds of Eurasian reindeer that grated to North America during the early Pleistocene.

The American caribou, however, was never domesticated. And, the Eurasian reindeer not native to North America. Thus Popov's deposition of 1711 reveals an interesting fact early Alaskan Eskimo history and biogeography that is not generally known: by the year 11, herds of domesticated Siberian reindeer had been introduced into Alaska at Cape ince of Wales, where they were kept by the local Kinugmiut Eskimos.

In 1891, Sheldon Jackson reintroduced 16 head of domestic reindeer from Стбтрь o the Seward Peninsula at Port Clarence, followed by 175 head in 1892, for use by the ive Eskimo there as a source of food and a means of transportation. This experiment ved so successful, that the program was continued for the next decade until, by 1901, a al of 1200 Siberian reindeer had been brought over to Alaska for use by the Eskimo. As h whales in recent years, it was the introduction of European firearms that resulted in decimation of the Alaskan reindeer: ''*the wild reindeer that once abounded in their ntry have been killed off by the introduction of breech loading fire arms*'': Sheldon son, ''Our reindeer preserve,'' *The Seattle Telegraph*, December 26, 1893, p. 5, . 1-2.

In referring to the Alaska Eskimos, Попов and Макачкин state that ''*they keep/hold e herds of reindeer*'' ''держатъ де у себя великія табурны оленей'' (с. 458). The rence here is that the Kinugmiut Eskimo themselves kept large herds of domesticated deer. This is very likely correct, even though these could not have been American tic caribou, and even though by 1890 these Siberian reindeer had vanished from ka. Because there was extensive communication, trade, and warfare during contact and early post-contact times between the Siberian Chukchi (who had reindeer) and the Eskimo natives of Cape Prince of Wales – particularly in winter via the Diomede Islands and the frozen Bering Sea – it is very likely that during this process the Kinugmiut Eskimo acquired Siberian reindeer.

(10) Попов mentions that the crossing from the Чукотский Полуостров (probably Мыс Дежнева) to ''that island'' ''тотъ осировъ'' could be made in one day, whether paddling across during the summer on a baidara, or riding across the ice on reindeer during the winter. I suspect that what Makuchkin was referring to here was the distance to the Diomede Islands (the midway point of the journey), and that Popov mistakenly interpreted the Diomede Islands as here being the ''big island'' (the Alaskan mainland.''

The total distance from Мыс Дежнева to Cape Prince of Wales is 46 nautical miles (60 statute miles), with the Diomede Islands situated at precisely the half-way point. Whereas this distance might be covered in a baidara during the long summer day (this is less than one degree of latitude below the Arctic Circle), which is essentially equivalent to two days of normal temperate daylight; it is rather doubtful if this distance could be covered during the extremely brief period of daylight of the short winter day.

That it is a two-day journey, in winter or summer, to journey from the Чукотский Полуостров to Cape Prince of Wales is corroborated by the report of Николай Дауркин, who in 1763 visited the Big Diomede Island (Дауркин 1781, note 7 *supra, cit*. p. 246):

> ''Da im October die See zwifchen der tfchukozkifchen Landecke und den gegenüber liegenden Inseln mit Eis belegt ward, bat ich mir bey ihnen ein Paar Rennthiere und einen Schlitten aus, und gieng mit einem Tfchukfchen, der fich zu meinem Glück für meinen Verwandten hielt, nach der erften Infel über, wohin wir auf dem Eise nur fieben bis acht Stunden zu fahren hatten, da hingegen man im Sommer auf Baidaren bis dahin, und von dieser Insel zu einer zwoten jedesmal einen ganzen Tag zu rudern hat.''

> ''In October, when the sea between the Chukchi cape and the opposite lying [Diomede] islands became covered with ice, I requested from them [the Chukchi] a pair of reindeer and a sleigh/sled, and went with a Chukchi, who, to my luck, held himself for my relative, over to the first [Big Diomede] island, to which we had to travel only seven or eight hours on the ice, but on the other hand in summer one [must go] in baidars to that place, and from this [first] island to a second [Cape Prince of Wales] [one] always has to row an entire day.''

A later Russian report, that of Иван Кобелев who visited both of the Diomede Islands in late July 1779, mentions that the larger Diomede Island was called Imaglin, while the smaller was named Igelyin. Not only was it possible to sight Cape Prince of Wales from the higher Big Diomede Island, but Kobelev asserts that the American mainland could also be sighted (doubtless from high hills) from the Asiatic mainland at the Чукотский Полуостров (Masterson 1947, note 7 *supra*, pp. 152-155).

(11) The European sable *Mustela zibellina* Pallas 1780 is not found in North America. More likely Макачкин was referring to the very similar species, the North American marten *Martes americana* (Turton), formerly *Mustela americana*.

One general comment should be made here concerning the Попов-Макачкин list of animals and trees of the Alaskan mainland. The coast of Cape Prince of Wales is treeless tundra, thus none of the trees listed herein are actually present there, not are most of the animals. In view of this, Попов is most likely incorporating information about the Alaskan mainland he or Макачкин obtained from the Eskimo captives living among the Chukchi—captives who had either journeyed farther east into forested parts of Alaska, or who had spoken with other Eskimo natives who had done so.

(12) The Eurasian pine marten *Mustela martes* is not present in North America. In this instance, Макачкин was probably referring to the mink *Mustela vison* Schreber.

(13) **Попов-Макачкин** use the term **розсомаки**, which is the Russian word for wolverine. Fisher 1981 (note 6 *supra*) p. 113, in an otherwise creditable translation, mistakenly renders this as ''ermines.'' This cannot be, for the Russian term for ermine (an American animal) is **горностай**.

(14) Makachkin's trees are so confused, that they are best discussed in one footnote, particularly since coastal Cape Prince of Wales is treeless tundra. These tree data had been obtained from Eskimo captives among the Chukchi, who had either journeyed east into forested parts of Alaska, or who had spoken with other persons who had done so.

There are no cedar trees at Cape Prince of Wales. The northern limit for Alaska yellow cedar is Prince William Sound, while western red cedar has its northern limit at Lynn Canal in southeast Alaska. Even the widespread dwarf juniper *Juniperus communis* has its western limit in Alaska at the Kenai Peninsula.

This same holds true for the other trees listed here. The northwest limit for trees on the Pacific coast of Alaska is in the Kodiak Island and Alaska Peninsula region; nearly all of the Aleutian Islands are starkly barren of trees. Lodgepole pine and alpine fir are confined to southeast Alaska; while Alaska larch is confined to the interior mid-Yukon, Tanana, and upper Kuskokwim valleys. Even Sitka spruce, which is an extremely common tree in southeast Alaska, finds its western limit on northern Kodiak Island.

Wood was to be had on the Seward Peninsula, in a few scattered locations such as in the easternmost end, but it was sparse and usually stunted in growth. Yet, in spite of this, the Seward Peninsula was still the closest source of wood for Chukchi natives of Мыс Дежнева, for whom the nearest timberlands in Siberia were over twice that distance away, to the southwest, in the Пенжина-Пальматкие valley and in Камчатка.

(15) This entire preceding passage, ''And from this cape . . . . and in yurts'', is almost identical to a passage appearing in a report by **Николай Дауркин** describing his 1763 journey to the Diomede Islands, indicating that either Daurkin had access to Popov's report or deposition of 1711 at Анадырск, or to another document based upon Popov' s data (Дауркин 1781, note 7 *supra, cit*. p. 248):

> ''Von der tfchukotfchifchen Küste kann man nach den nächften Küsten diefes Landes in einem Tage überrudern; und da es auf dem tfchuktfchifchen Landsende wegen Mangel der Waldung nichts als rothe Füchfe und Wölfe giebt, fo hat man dagegen auf jenem Lande allerlay, Thiere, als Zobel, Marder, allerley, weiße nämlich und blaue, Eisfüchfe, Vielfraßs, Bären, auch Seeottern; und halten die dortigen Einwohner auch große Rennthierheerden, effen auch Seethiere und allerley Erdgewächfe. Das Land aber ift wohl mit Waldung von Cederfichten oder Cirbelbäumen, Roth- und Weißtannen und Lärichen verfehen. Ich habe Holz von diefem Lande an den tfchukotskifchen Hütten und Baidaren gefehen.''
>
> ''From the Chukchi coast one can row over to the nearest coast of this land [Cape Prince of Wales] in one day; and whereas on the Chukchi peninsula-tip due to the absence of forest there is nothing but red foxes and wolves, thus in contrast on that other land [Cape Prince of Wales] one has all sorts of animals, as sable, marten, all sorts, namely white and blue ice-foxes, wolverines, bears, also sea otters; and the inhabitants of that place also have large reindeer herds, [they] also eat sea animals and diverse land plants. The land, however, is well provided with forest of cedar/spruce or cirbel trees, red and white fir and larch. I have seen wood from this land in the Chukchi huts and baidars.''

(16) Попов 1882 (p. 101 *supra*), c. 457.

(17) For the cartographical achievement of Ремезов, see: Leo Bagrow (1881-1957), ''The first Russian maps of Siberia and their influence on the west-European cartography of N. E. Asia,'' *Imago Mundi* (Leiden), vol. 9, 1951, pp. 83-93; Leo Bagrow, ''Semyon Remezov—a Siberian cartographer,'' *Imago Mundi* (Leiden), vol. 11, 1954, pp. 111-125.

Семен Ульянович Ремезов (1642-*post*1720), edited by Leo Bagrow (1881-1957), *The Atlas of Siberia*. Imago Mundi, supplement no. 1 (17pp., 171 map facsimiles on 202 plates; 's Gravenhage, 1958).

Александрь Игнатьевич Андреев (1887-1959), **Очерки по Историческоведению Сибири. Издание 2** (2 vols.; 1960-1965; Ленинград: Акадкмия Наук, Институт Истории, Ленинградское Отделение), том 1 (1960) XVII век, сс. 96-148.

Леонид Аркадьевич Голденберг, **Семен Ульянович Ремезов, Сибирский Картограф и Географ, 1642-после 1720гг** (263сс.; 1965, Москва: Акалемия Наук, Научно-биографическая Серия); L. A. Goldenberg, ''The atlases of Siberia by S. U. Remezov as a source for old Russian history,'' *Imago Mundi* (Amsterdam), vol. 25, 1971, pp. 39-46.

For the history of Siberian cartography, see: Gaston Cahen, ''Les cartes de la Sibérie au XVIIIe siècle. Essai de bibliographie critique,'' *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* (Paris, 1891-1927), nouv. sér., fascicle 1, 1911, pp. 61-76.

Leo Bagrow (1881-1957), edited by Henry W. Castner, *A History of the Cartography of Russia up to* 1600 (140pp.; Wolfe Island, Ontario, 1975); Leo Bagrow, edited by Henry W. Castner, *A History of Russian Cartography up to* 1800 (312pp.; Wolfe Island, Ontario, 1975).

Александр Игнатьевич Андреев (1887-1959), ''Экспедиция на восток до Беринга (в связи с картографией Сибири первой четверти XVIII века,'' **Труды Историко-архивного Института** (Москва), том 2, 1946, сс. 183-202.

(18) Борис П. Полевой, ''Семен Ремезов и Владимир Атласов. К утончению датировки ранних чертежей Камчатки,'' **Известия Академии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** (Москва), 1965, № 1 (ноябрь-декабрь), сс. 92-101.

It appears that when Атласов sent a copy of his map of Камчатка to Москва, via Тободьск, as it passed through the latter city Ремезов managed to make a copy of it. It is well he did so, for the original map has disappeared. See: Bagrow 1951 (note 17 *supra*), pp. 91-92; and Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896-), **Из Истории Великих Русскии Географических Оикрытий в Северном Ледовитом и Тихом Океанах, XVIIй - Первая Половина XVIIIв** (317сс.; 1950, Москва: Гос. Изл-во Геогр. Лит-ры).

Facsimiles of Remezov's Kamchatka-Chukchi region maps of 1712-1714 appear in the references listed in note 17 *supra*. The best facsimile appears in: Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896- , редактор), **Атлас Географических Открытий в Сибири и в Северо-Западной Амереке, XVII-XVIIIвв.** (134сс., 194 map facsimiles; 1964, Москва: Академия Наук), карта 48, с. 33. Карта 49, с. 34, depicts only Камчатка, with no Остров Карагинский. Карта 50, сс. 34-36, shows only Камчатка and the Чукотский Полуостров, along with Осиров Карагинский; however, Alaska is not depicted.

(19) Since Попов returned to Аналырск by September 2, 1711, and it would have taken several months for his cartographic data to have reached Ремезов at Тобольск, Remezov's map presenting Popov's data for Cape Prince of Wales can thus date from no earlier than 1712.

On his map of 1712-1714, Ремезов depicts a large island directly east of the Чукотский Полуостров, which he designates as Новая Земля, ''new land,'' or the ''newly reported land.'' This provides further indication that the source of his data for Alaska was Попов's map (and not an earlier source), for Popov's deposition and map of 1711 would indeed be recent enough data to be regarded as ''newly reported land.''

(20) A few non-Alaskan features on the manuscript Ремезов map of 1712-1714 merit notice.

Охотское Море—the stretch from the mouth of the Река Амур to the Залив Шелехова is depicted, but the sea has too narrow a width. The first Russian crossing of the Охотское Море, from Охотск to Камчатка, would not occur until 1716.

The largest of the Шантарские Острова appears, and most of the numerous little streams draining into the northwest coast of this sea are also depicted. This, however, was by this time well-known territory: within 1636-1639 a party of казаки under Иван Москвитин became the first Russians to reach the Pacific Ocean overland, at a point about 50 miles southwest of present-day Охотск. For about two years Moskvitin's party then explored along the northwest shoreline of this sea, from the Река Охота on the north to nearly the mouth of the Река Амур on the south. Охотск was first settled in 1649 by Семен Шелковников.

Камчатка—the numerous rivers of the Kamchatka peninsula are depicted in marvelous detail, this now representing the result of some 16 years of exploration and settlement in Камчатка. The overall outline is understandably distorted, since no accurate measurements of latitude, longitude, or distance had yet been made in this region. However, relative positions of features can be recognized.

The numerous streams on the east coast of Kamchatka are present; even Озеро Курильское is shown at the southernmost tip of the peninsula, along with its own small island. South of Камчатка is a schematic island, probably the rumored Kuriles, as yet unvisited by Russians.

On the east coast, we can identify the Река Камчатка, Камчатский Залив, Мыс Камчатский, and Мыс Озерной. Остров Карагинский is surprisingly absent, even though Голыгин had visited this island from the mainland about the year 1700.

One of the most interesting features on the entire map is a large island directly east of the southeast coast of Kamchatka. This, I suspect, is a schematic portrayal of native rumors as to the existence of Остров Беринга, which can indeed be seen on clear days from high points on the coast of Залив Камчатский. This exaggerated island, in later instances probably confused and merged with Остров Карагинский, would persist on maps until the first Bering expedition of 1725-1730. As will be seen later (pp. 112-113 *infra*), this schematic Остров Беринга was later vastly enlarged into a quasi-continental land mass on the Bruce-Homann map of 1723, and in this form it would play a major rôle in Петр I's formulation of instructions for the first Bering voyage of 1728.

Чукотский Полулстров—The entire Коряк coastline from Остров Карагинский to Мыс Наварин is absent. This is not surprising, as this encompasses the rugged region of the Корякский Хребет. As of 1714, this iron-bound coast had not yet been explored by the Russians, who thus far had confined their journeys between Камчатка and Анадырск to the easy, lowland interior valley route, via the marshy Пенжина/Пальматкин valley to reach the mid Река Анадыр.

However, from Анадырск to the Чукотский Полуосиров there is recognizable detail, this almost certainly having been based upon Попов's manuscript of 1711. At the mouth of the Река Анадырск, the double bays (inner and outer) of Залив Онемен and Анадырский Лиман are present. Next is the deep indentation of Залив Креста "Болшая губа," with a stream flowing in from the east, suggesting that this is the route taken by Попов in 1711 to visit the Chukchi natives. Several capes "корга" are present.

Мыс Дежнева appears as "корга болшая в море," while Мыс Чаплина appears as "корга чюконка." The Chukchi Sea is designated as "море акиян." Beyond lies the east coast of the Чукотский Полуостров, facing which is an exaggerated and schematic representation of Cape Prince of Wales, depicted as an elongated island.

(21) At this time (1712-1714), Попов and Russian officials at Анадырск were unaware as to the continental nature of Cape Prince of Wales. On the Львов-Попов map of 1712-1714, a hypothetical promontory is depicted extending north from the Chukchi Peninsula, but it is truncated by the edge of the map. At the same time, the большая земля of Cape Prince of Wales is portrayed as curving northwest, where it too is cut off by the border of the chart. The inference here is that Cape Prince of Wales was a long peninsula connected with Asia.

(22) "Akhiukhaliat," the name of the prople living on Big Diomede Island, is an Eskimo term, with the Eskimo suffix *-miut* ("iat") designating "people." The term is faintly reminiscent of Kaviagmiut, the name of the Eskimo tribe inhabiting the south coast of the Seward Peninsula.

(23) This correctly describes the Eskimo manner of cooking in this region of scarce wood, using seal oil or whale oil lamps.

(24) In his description of Big Diomede Island in 1763, Николай Дауркин writes (this is Pallas' translation, *als Deutsch*) (Дауркин 1781, note 7 *supra*, *cit*. pp. 246-247:

> "Die Bewohner diefer Infeln werden von den Tfchukotfchen *Achüchalät* gennant; fie haben eine eigene Sprache, . . . [Seite 247] und nähren fich hauptfächlich vom Fang der Wallroffe, Wallfifche und Seehunde. Weil kein Holz auf der Infel ift, fo kochen fie ihre Speifen, wie die Tfchukotfchen, bey Thranfeuer, indem fie einen ausgehöhlten platten Stein voll Thran gieffen, . . ."
>
> "The inhabitants of this [Big Diomede] island are by the Chukchi called *Achüchalät;* they have a separate [different] language, . . . [page 247] and nourish themselves chiefly by catching walruses, whales and seals. Since no wood is on the island, they thus cook their food, as the Chukchi, with train-oil ["fish"-oil, meaning whale oil], in that they pour a hollowed-out flat stone full of train [oil], . . ."

(25) Николай Даиркин (note 7 *supra*, p. 247), refers to the inhabitants of Little Diomede Island as "Pejeskoli."

(26) The name *Kiginelyat*, designating the Eskimos living on Little Diomede Island, is faintly reminiscent of that of the Kinugmiut tribe of Eskimos which occupied Cape Prince of Wales during historic times.

(27) The fact that the Eskimo were better fighters than the Chukchi would explain why the Diomede Islands, equidistant between Asia and America, were colonized by the Eskimo and not by the Chukchi.

(28) Because of the substantial amount of data appearing on the manuscript Львов map of 1712-1714 based upon Попов's own manuscript map of 1711 (which has long since disappeared), the former map may more accurately and properly be termed the Львов-Попов map of 1712-1714.

(29) The Bruce-Homann Камчатка map of 1723, as well as the sources for the maps of Russia appearing in Homann's great atlas of 1725, have been discussed by several Russian scholars:

Лев Семенович Берг (1876-1950), "Первые карты Камчатки," **Известия Всесоюзного Географического Общества** (Ленинград), том 75, № 4, июль-авгксть 1943, cc. 3-7, *cit*. c. 5.

Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896-), **Из Истории Русских Экспедиций на Тихом Океане. Первая Половина XVIII века** (344cc.; 1948, Москва: Военное Издательство), cc. 100-101.

Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896-), **Из Истории Великих Русских Географических Открытий в Северном Ледовитом и Тихом Океанах, XVIIй-Первая Половина XVIIIв.** (317cc.; 1950, Москва: Гос.Изл-во Географ. Лит-ры), cc. 94, 112-113.

Эндел Ф. Вареп, "О картах, составленных русскими, в атласе И. Б. Гомана 1725г.," **Известия Всесоюзного Географического Общества** (Ленинград), том. 91, № 3, май-июнь 1959, cc. 290-298.

Сергей Ефимович Фель, **Картография России XVIII века** (226cc.; 1960, Москва: Геодезическая Литература) cc. 133-135, 150-151.

Эндел Ф. Вареп, "Über einige Karten Russlands in J. B. Homanns Atlas von 1725," *Petermanns Geographischen Mitteilungen* (Gotha), 1963, no. 4, pp. 308-311.

Алексей Владимирович Ефивов (1896- , редактор), **Атлас Географических Открытий в Сибири и в Северо-Зарадной Амереке, XVII-XVIIIвв.** (134cc., 194 map facsimiles; 1964, Москва: Академия Наук), карта 58, cc. 40-41.

Борис П. Полевой, ''Главаная задачна первой камчатской экспедиции по замыслу Петра I. О новой интерпретации инструкции Витуси Берингу 1725г.', **Вопросы Географии Камчатки** (Географическое Общество СССР, Камчатский Отделение Петропавловск), 1964, № 2, сс. 88-94.

Борис П. Полевой, ''О карте 'Камчадалии' И. Б. Гомана,'' **Известия Академии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** (Москва), 1970, № 1 (январь-февраль), сс. 99-105.

Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896-), **Из Истории Великих Русских Географических Открытий** [revised edition] (300сс.; 1971, Москва: Академия Наук СССР, Отделение Истории), сс. 162, 164, 171. Note also the map facing cc. 106 and 112, and on c. 107, depicting land across from the Chukchi Peninsula.

Raymond Henry Fisher (1907-), *Bering's Voyages. Whither and Why* (217pp.; University of Washington Press, 1977), pp. 64-67, 69-70, 77.

(30) Earlier printed maps had depicted a conjectural northwest extension of North America and a mythical ''Strait of Anian'' separating Asia from North America. This, however, was purely hypothetical and imaginary geography, not based upon an actual European voyage or journey to Alaska and the Northwest Coast north of Cape Blanco in Oregon (see p. 150, note 25, *infra*).

(31) Fisher 1977 (note 29 *supra*) pp. 68-70, 77, 79. Bering also received a copy of the printed Bruce-Homann map within July-August 1725 at Енисеиск from the German naturalist Daniel G. Messerschmidt (Fisher 1977, p. 77).

(32) Upon first sighting land at Cape Addington on the Alaskan coast on July 15, 1741, Чириков makes reference to a *''map of the Nürnberg geographer Johann Baptiste Homann and others,''* depicting the Pacific Coast of North America (Покровский 1941, c. 274; Golder-Bering, vol. 2, pp. 313-314. Though this specific chart is not the Bruce-Homann printed map of 1723, it raises the likelihood that Bering and Чириков had other Homann charts with them, including the epochal 1723 map of Kamchatka.

(33) The Homann atlas was later reprinted at Nürnberg in 1737: *National Union Catalogue*, vol. 252, p. 622, item 484573. It should be noted, however, that the Homann atlas of 1725 was not printed and issued as a single unit, for the charts it contained had been printed by Homann over a period of years prior to 1725. Specimens of this atlas may also include charts printed *after* 1725, even so late as 1778.

In the Homann atlas of 1725 , the Попов depiction of the Bering Strait, Diomede Islands, and Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales) also appears, at a smaller scale, on a general map of Russia entitled *Generalis Totius Imperii Russorum* (Bagrow 1951 p. 93; Вареп 1959, c. 293, c. 295 facsimile). The configuration is identical to that of the 1723 map, demonstrating that these data were derived from the same source.

A later re-engraving of the Bering Sea, Alaska, and Kamchatka area (from the 1723 map) appeared on a subsequent map of Asia (map 112), along with a reprint of the 1723 map from the original plate, appeared several years later in Homann's *Atlas Geographicus Universales* (Nürnberg, 1759).

(34) Мария Григорьевна Новлянская, **Филип Иоан Страленберг, Его Работы по Исследованиго Сибири** (1966, Москва: Академия Наук). His original name was Tabbert; the cognomen *von Strahlenberg* was added upon his being knighted.

(35) Müller 1758 Deutsch (note 5 *supra*), pp. 66-69.

(36) Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), who spent the winter of 1736-37 searching through the archives at Якутск, mentions in a note written about March or April 1737 (enclosed with Bering's report of April 27, 1737 to the Russian Admiralty) that Татаринов received this information from a party of visiting Chukchi natives while at Анадырск Острог in 1718: Ефимов 1950 (note 29 *supra*) c. 261.

(37) Евгений Григорьевич Кушнарев, **В Поисках Пролива. Первая Камчатская Экспедиция, 1725-1730** (167сс.; 1976, Ленинград: Гидрометеоиздат), сс. 30, 87.

(38) Александр Семеонович Полонский [''А. П.''], ''Первая камчатская экспедиция Беринга, 1725-1729 года,'' **Отечественныя Записки** (Санктпетербургъ, 1831-1860; 3rd series), том 75, выпуск 8, 1851, сс. 1-24, *cit.* pp. 19-20 (Dall; Golder Bering, vol. 1, p. 364; Fisher 1977pp. 16, 204); Кушнарев 1976 (note 37 *supra*), c. 84. The translation is my own.

An English translation of the entire Чириков statement of April 13, 1728 appears in Fisher 1977 (note 29 *supra*), pp. 83-84. The manuscript is in the Центральный Государственный Архив Военно-Морскаго Флота СССР (Ленинград), фонд 216, дело 8 7, лист 227 *verso*.

In July 1722, the governor of Siberia, А. Черкасский, mentioned in one of his reports that he had learned of a rumor that ''многие острова и иныя пустые'' ''*many islands and some uninhabited*'' existed in the Анадыр region: Василий Афанасьевич Дивин, **Русские Мореплавания на Тихом Океане в XVIII веке** (374сс.; 1971, Москва: ''Мысль''), c. 69, also cc. 71-72.

(39) Иван Кирилович Кирилов (1689-1737), *Tabula Geographica Partis extremæ Orientalis Siberiæ et Tartariæ*, manuscript map, dated 1724 at Санктпетербургъ. A facsimile reproduction of this appears in: Вера Федоровна Гнучева (1890-1942) *et alii*, **Географический Департамента Академии Наук XVIII века. Под редактсией . . . А. И. Андреева**. Академия Наук, Труды Архива, выпуск 6 (445сс.; 1946, Москва), карта 11.

(40) A manuscript copy of the Шестаков map (53.5 x 75 cm), по-русски, was in the private collection of Leo Bagrow (1881-1957) as of 1939: L. Breitfuss, ''Early maps of north-eastern Asia and of the lands around the North Pacific,'' *Imago Mundi* (London), vol. 3, 1939, pp. 87-99, facsimile facing page 90.

A manuscript French version (74 x 54 cm) of the Шестаков map of 1726 is reproduced in: Ефимов 1964 (notes 18 and 29 *supra*), карта 68 facsimile, c. 47 (no location given). French version in the Академия Наук (Ленинград), Картографический Архив, № 3636 (Л. С. Берг 1935, facsimile facing c. 108).

Other references to facsimiles (some redrawn) of the Шестаков map appear in: Берг 1946 cc. 96-97; Гнучева 1946 cc. 288-289, № 110; Врангель 1948; Греков 1960 c. 47 illustration; Андреев 1960 том 1, cc. 28-30; Дивин 1971 cc. 70-71; Ефимов 1971 cc. 220, 221 illustration.

(41) Since as yet I have been unable to secure a copy of the original Russian text of this passage, and thus render my own translation of it, I have relied upon the translations of Golder and Fisher: Frank Alfred Golder (1877-1929) editor, *Bering's Voyages. An Account of the Efforts of the Russians to Determine the Relation of Asia and America Volume I: The Log Books and Official Reports of the First and Second Expeditions 1725-1730 and 1733-1742.* American Geographical Society, Research Series, no. 1

71pp.; New York, 1922), p. 30; Fisher 1977 (note 29 *supra*), p. 124. There are ronounced differences between both translations.

This passage, based upon a report from Дмитрий И. Павлутский dated November 6, 1730, at Камчатка, appears in article 6 of the Russian Admiralty report of December 8, 1732, concerning the projected second Bering expedition. This Senate report was first ublished in: **Полное Собрание Законов Российской Империи с 1649 года** (44 vols.; 830, Санктпетербургъ: Собственная Его Императорскаго Величества Канцелрия), том 8, document № 6291, с. 1007.

(42) Александр Петрович Соколов (1816-1858), ''Северная экспедиция, 733-1743 года,'' **Записки Гидрографическаго Департамента** (Санктпетербургъ: орское Министерство), том 9, 1851, сс. 190-469, 4 folding maps, *cit.* с. 435; ахтин 1890, с. 109; Греков 1960 с. 56. The translation, as with nearly all the other ranslations in this present paper, is my own.

Other English translations have appeared in Golder-Bering 1922 (note 41 *supra*), vol. , p. 26; and in Fisher 1977 (note 29 *supra*), p. 112.

(43) Joseph Nicolas Delisle (1688-1768), *Explication de la Carte des Nouvelles Decouvertes Au Nord de la Mer du Sud* (18pp.; Paris, 1752), pp. 5-6, this being based pon his manuscript *Explication* of 1732. The translation is my own.

Similar data appear in Müller 1758 Deutsch edition (note 5 *supra*), pp. 66-69.

Other English translations appear in: Frank Alfred Golder (1877-1929), *Russian Expansion on the Pacific* 1641-1850 [actually covers *to* the Pacific 1641-1750] (368pp.; Cleveland, 1914), p. 305 from the 1732 manuscript version; and in Fisher 1977 (note 29 *supra*), p. 113—neither of which translation is entirely accurate.

Fisher, for instance, mistranslates ''*in narrow seas*'' instead of ''*in straits or arms of he sea*''; he gives ''*pine,*'' whereas ''*pins*'' can also mean fir (an important clarification, ince pine trees are extremely scarce on the Northwest Coast, and especially in Alaska, ompared to fir and spruce trees); he gives ''*the wind could bring the ice*'' instead of ''*the ast wind could bring ice,*'' which is a rather important distinction, as it defines the irection from which the ice was coming; ''*birds*'' instead of ''*certain birds*''; and ''*at he customary time*'' instead of ''*at the same season.*''

This is particularly unfortunate for Fisher, for in his 1977 book, which otherwise is a masterpiece of historical scholarship and presentation (Fisher 1977, *vide* note 29 *supra*), he is very quick to point out errors in the translations of such previous scholars as Frank A. Golder (pp. 23, 85 note 18, 92-93, 113 note 17) and Robert J. Kerner (pp. 176-177). Fisher (p. 85 note 18) notes where a previous scholar omitted a phrase in a quotation, but hen in his translation of the Попов deposition of 1711 he himself omits the ethnologically most important phrase of the entire deposition (see note 6 *supra*). He also levels criticism at a French translation by Kerner (pp. 176-177). Yet, ironically, in the case of the above xamples from the Delisle *Explication*, Golder's translation (1914) is more accurate and omplete than that of Fisher. Fisher (p. 128 note 13) even casts a minor criticism at Leonhard Stejneger, whose brilliant masterpiece on Georg Wilhelm Steller still remains he only comprehensive study in English on the entire Bering second expedition of 733-1743. One should not lose sight of the fact that, whatever his shortcomings may have een, Golder, one of the very first Russian scholars to emerge from the American academic ystem, was the pioneer English scholar to deal with the prime sources for the Bering oyage of 1741, and whose 1922-1925 compilation on this voyage (along with Leonhard tejneger) still remains the only collection of prime source materials pertaining to the oyage available in English.

In one instance, Golder is to be vindicated: contrary to what Fisher 1977 (p. 16) mplies, Golder 1922 (vol. 1, p. 364) was aware of, and does indeed cite, the longer 1851 ersion of Полонский, though he does quote (vol. 1, p. 19) from the shorter 1850 version.

(44) Bering is mostly correct here. Oceanic waves are generated by the wind. On the open Pacific Ocean, one is exposed to possible wave fronts on all sides. Whereas on an enclosed sea, such as the Bering Sea, the Aleutian Islands form a barrier to the south, while the tips of Siberia and Alaska form the other two sides of an enclosing triangle.

If Bering were at a site at or near the Diomede Islands, as he was in August 1728, there would be even less a chance of high oceanic waves due to the proximity of the Siberian and Alaskan land masses. However, major storms over the Bering Sea itself could easily generate waves as high as might be encountered on the open Pacific. Note also that Bering's 1728 voyage to the Bering Strait occurred during July and August, those months when the weather in the Bering Sea would be at its calmest.

(45) These alien tree trunks washed ashore at Камчатка would most likely be conifers (largely Sitka spruce *Picea sitchensis*), carried down by the Yukon River from the forested interior of Alaska, and swept out into the Bering Sea. Some of these trunks would then drift westward, where a current flowing southwest from the Bering Strait along the east coast of Камчатка to Japan (the Oya Shio) could then carry them to the coast of Kamchatka.

(46) Two types of avian seasonal movements would be apparent to the natives of Камчатка: (a) the north-south annual migration of land and shore birds via the flyway extending from Australia via the Philippines-Japan-Kuriles to Камчатка and the Чукотский Полуостров; and (b) the east-west seasonal movement of oceanic birds that would have to fly in from feeding grounds on the Bering Sea each summer to nest along the shores of Kamchatka. Since Bering specifies that the birds come ''*from the east,*'' the species observed by the Kamchadals were likely such alcidæ as the common murre, horned puffins, and tufted puffins. These birds spend nearly all their lives at sea, but must come ashore each summer to build their nests, lay eggs, and raise their young. Their presence thus is not *per se* indicative of a land mass to the east of Kamchatka.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BERING VOYAGES

1697-1724

Флота-капитан (1-го ранга) Witus Jonassen Bering (1681-1741), a Dane in the service of the Russian navy, was sent out on his voyage of 1728 to the Bering Strait at the express orders of царь Петр Алексеевич Романов (1672-1725, Петр I, Петр ''Великий''), who was curious about the location of Northwest America in relation to northeasternmost Сибирь.

The ultimate origin of Романов's interest in the geographical relationship between Siberia and America is uncertain, as he failed to record what first aroused his curiosity in this topic. In the absence of any written memoirs by the царь documenting the rise of his own interest in this question, we must turn to indirect evidence. Although no single person, specific incident, or prime motivation can be isolated as being the principal factor that led to the first Bering voyage of 1728, the surviving documentation indicates that on several occasions during 1697-1724 Петр I either spoke with persons interested in whether or not Asia and America were connected, or he himself was heard to express an interest in this topic.

The question as to whether or not a strait separated the continents of Asia and America—a variant of the Northwest Passage concept—was one of the last remaining great geographical enigmas of the world as of the year 1700. It was a topic so generally well known and widely discussed among geographers of Петр's day, and it was of such compelling relevance to easternmost Russia, that the tsar undoubtedly heard of it on several different occasions from several different people. The existence of a strait between Asia and America had profound economic implications for Russia, for it lay open the question of a potentially feasible sea route along the Arctic coast of Russia for trade with the Far East. And, there were profound territorial questions involved as well, for Russian dominion by the 1700 had now reached almost to the easternmost limits of Siberia. If Asia and America were indeed connected, then the natural consequence of such a policy of eastward territorial expansion would be the extension of Russian dominion into North America.

The Bering Strait had been earlier discovered in late September 1648 by Семен Иванович Дежнев (1605?-1673), whose party of Russian казаки journeyed via sea from the mouth of the Река Колыма eastward along the Arctic coast of Russia, southward through the Bering Strait (where the Diomede Islands were discovered, thus the first part of present-day territorial Alaska to be discovered by European man), and finally to the Река Анадыр. This voyage in effect demonstrated that Asia and America were separate continents, but Dezhnev (who did not sight the Alaskan mainland) did not realize the monumental implications of his voyage. Moreover, his voyage was known to very few people, even in Дежнев's own day. Within a generation, the voyage had been totally forgotten, for there is no evidence that during the period 1697-1735 Петр or any other Russian knew of the Дежнев voyage of 1648. It was not until late in 1736 that Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), the chronicler and historian of the second Bering expedition, discovered Дежнев's report in the archives at Якутск and subsequently brought this to the attention of Europe in a published paper of 1742.

The local Chukchi natives of northeasternmost Siberia had, of course, for centuries known, not only of the Bering Strait, but also as to the existence of a ''great land'' that was situated to the east across that strait. It was thus only a matter of time, after the first Russian contact with the Chukchi natives at the *fin de siècle* that rumors as to the existence of both the strait and mainland Alaska (at Cape Prince of Wales) would reach Russian authorities at Анадырскь. The first reference to mainland Alaska (Cape Prince of Wales) and the Eskimos living there occurs in a report written in 1701 by the Russian military commandant/governor воеводв at Anadyrsk', Vladimir Atlasov Владимир Атласов (*d.*1711) (see pp. 98-99 *supra*). In 1711 Petr Il'in Popov Петр Ильин сын Попов made a journey from Анадырск to the Чукотский Полуостров where he met with, not only the Chukchi natives there, but also with one Chukchi native named Makachkin, who personally had visited the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales. In addition, Popov also saw Alaskan Eskimo captives among the Chukchi. Upon his return to Anadyrsk, Попов in September 1711 submitted a deposition briefly describing his journey, and he drew up a manuscript map depicting the Chukchi Peninsula and Bering Strait region.

Попов's map of 1711 exerted a profound effect upon Russian geographical conceptualization of the Bering Strait area, and was ultimately to play a rôle in the instructions for the first Bering voyage of 1728. The geographical data on Попов's map of 1711 depicting the Чукотский Полуостров, the Bering Strait, the two Diomede Islands, and the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales was incorporated on later manuscript maps compiled by Ремезов (1712-1714), Львов (1712-1714), Bruce (1717-1722), and was first published in 1723 by Homann at Nürnberg. These maps depict easternmost Asia (both Камчатка and the Чукотский Полуостров) as being unconnected to any land mass to the east, thus implying that Asia is not connected to America. It is, in fact, almost certain that Петр I actually had a copy of the printed Homann map of 1723 before him when he drew up the official instructions for the Bering voyage of 1728.

Moreover, an official expedition to Камчатка during 1720-1721 under Лужин and Евреинов resulted in a manuscript map of Kamchatka drawn by Евреинов in 1721 or 1722 that depicts no land connection between Asia and America. And, a manuscript map of Siberia prepared in 1724 by a close advisor to Петр I, the Russian geographer Иван Кирилович Кирилов (1689-1737), portrays Сибирь as being totally separate from North America.

Thus within the years 1722-1724, Петр I doubtless learned to his satisfaction that America and Asia were separate unconnected continents, *prior* to Петр's drawing up of the instructions for the Bering voyage of 1728. Both Jacob Bruce (who sent the manuscript map that was printed in 1723 by Homann) and Иван К. Кирилов were close advisors of Петр I, and he would thus have had access to their maps. The 1720-21 journey of Лужин and Евреинов was an official Russian naval expedition sent out to Камчатка by the царь, with the express instructions: ''*And* [*you are*] *to describe there* [*at Kamchatka, existing*] *places, where if America connects itself with Asia*'' (see p. 139 *infra*). No such connection was found; and, both the map and geographical results of this expedition would also have been available to Петр. In fact, the Евреинов map of 1721-22 is filed in Russian archives among the papers of Петр I, indicating that this map did indeed reach the царь.

Thus by 1724, before the orders for the Bering voyage had been drawn up, and before the expedition had even been conceived, Петр I almost certainly felt to his satisfaction, based upon the recent maps available to him by Евреинов 1721-22, Bruce-Homann 1723, and Кирилов 1724, that Сибирь and America were not joined. This fact is of considerable importance in analyzing and understanding the meaning of Петр's ambiguous instructions for the Bering voyage of 1728, for Петр I most likely had a copy of the printed Bruce-Homann map of 1723 before him when, on January 6, 1725, he drew up the three orders for the voyage.

However, as will be seen below, the three orders are extremely brief, and somewhat vague. Петр was at this time an ill person with only a few days left to live, and he never clarified just precisely what he expected Bering's first voyage to achieve. Indeed, upon his demise on January 28, 1725, even before Bering had set out upon his first expedition, the ''true'' meaning of and purpose behind the nebulous orders 2 and 3 became a moot point. At this point, with the царь gone, and thus no one to be accountable to for the ''true'' purpose of the orders, they were thus open to the interpretation of Bering and officials in the Russian government. Indeed, regardless of what geographical concept Петр had, and what the precise meaning of his orders were, in the minds of Russian authorities at the highest level the purpose of Bering's first voyage of 1728 was to determine whether or not Asia and America were connected. This is, in fact, the *de facto* purpose of the 1728 voyage; and, on this voyage, Bering set sail from Камчатка, not eastward to America, but northeastward to the Bering Strait.

On his first voyage of 1728, Bering passed through the Bering Strait to reach a high point of 67° 18' 48'' N. latitude on the afternoon of August 15, 1728 (Julian, civil). This voyage effectively demonstrated to European geographers that Asia and America were separate continents, a fact that was substantiated in August 1778 by James Cook, who reached a high point of 70° 44' N. latitude north of the Bering Strait (1). However, Bering did not sight the Alaskan mainland in 1728, and thus left open the question as to the exact position of the American coastline in relation to easternmost Siberia. Bering himself was fully aware of this deficiency, and it was with this question in mind—the location of the American continent—that he set out on his second voyage of 1741 (2).

RUSSIAN INTEREST IN THE NORTHEAST PASSAGE

During a visit to Amsterdam in August 1697, Петр I met with the mayor of that city Nicolaas Corneliszoon Witsen (1641-1717). Witsen had himself visited Москва during January through May 1665, and he was to maintain a life-long interest in Сибирь. In 1692 and 1705 Witsen would publish a treatise on Siberia that would remain the standard reference for this region for the next thirty or forty years.

It appears likely that during his visit to Amsterdam in 1697, Петр I was approached by Witsen and other Dutch geographers or mariners who inquired if he planned to take steps in an effort to resolve the question as to whether or not a strait existed between Asia and America (3). The existence of such a strait implied that, if a feasible summer route were to be found along the Arctic coast of Russia, ships from Europe might thus sail to China without having to pass around Africa or South America crossing the Indian or Pacific oceans. As a consequence, in 1697 the director of Siberian affairs in Moskva, Андрей А. Виниус, issued orders directing the commandant at Иркутск to send a party of казаки down the Река Лена and to see if they could sail eastward to reach the Pacific Ocean (4).

The mathematician-historian-philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) met with Петр I in 1711 and again in 1716, and forwarded at least five proposals during 1697-1716, in which he expressed an interest in whether or not a strait existed between Asia and America (5). It is also likely that in June 1717, during a visit to Paris, Петр I was approached by members of the Académie des Sciences, in particular the géographe royal Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726), who expressed an interest in the question as to whether or not Asia and America were connected (6).

Even within Россия itself there was cause for interest in a possible strait between Asia and America, as well as concern for the geographical security of Камчатка. In 1713 and 1714, Фёдор Степанович Салтыков (1682?-1715), a close naval advisor of Петр I, proposed that a Russian naval expedition examine the Arctic coast of Russia for a feasible route to China (7). In 1722, another of the царь's advisors, Фёдор Иванович Соимонов (1692-1780) also expressed an interest in the commercial possibilities of an Arctic route from Europe to the Far East (8). These, however, were tenuous expressions of interest that had no immediate consequence. It was only the crises of a rebellion in Камчатка in 1706-07 and 1711-16, depriving Russian coffers of the lucrative furs and tribute from that region, that finally stirred Петр into action.

EXPEDITIONS TO KAMCHATKA, 1715-1721

A rebellion in Камчатка in 1711, that resulted in the death of the pioneer Russian explorer of that peninsula Владимир Атласов, made it evident to Russian authorities that Kamchatka could not be effectively governed so long as there was no feasible and rapid route to send reinforcements there. A major problem was the lack of any military outpost on the waters of the Pacific Ocean; thus in 1713 Петр I ordered the establishment of a Russian naval station at Охотск, a Russian community first settled in 1649 on the Охотское Море (9). To establish this naval station, in 1715 a party of Russian sailors and shipbuilders journeyed overland from Якутск to Охотск, where that same year they established the first Russian naval station on the Pacific Ocean. They carried with them sails, rope, anchors; and during the winter of 1715-16 they built the 51-foot Охота, the first Russian naval vessel to ply the waters of the Pacific Ocean. In June 1716 this ship sailed eastward from Охотск and reached the west coast of Камчатка near the mouth of the Река Тигиль, thus demonstrating that this peninsula could be reached via the Sea of Okhotsk (10).

In early 1716, the military governor at Yakutsk, Яков А. Ельчин, visited Moskva and delivered the distressing news that the rebellion in Kamchatka was now totally out of hand, and that the peninsula was in virtual control of renegade казаки and the hostile native Камчадалы and Коряки. This dire news provided the necessary impetus in Москва, and in December 1716 Ельчин was ordered back to Kamchatka in command of a large party that was directed to pacify Камчатка, and to survey the peninsula as well as the little-known Курильские Острова (11). Although Ельчин was relieved of his command in 1718, and most of the expedition was disbanded, a Swedish prisoner-of-war with the party, Ambjorn Molyk, in 1717 made the sea voyage from Okhotsk to Kamchatka, thus confirming the feasibility of the sea route from Охотск to Камчатка. The sea route was now firmly established, and each year thereafter at least one ship made the journey from Охотск to the peninsula (12).

In 1719, a second expedition was ordered to Камчатка (by now pacified and under Russian control), this venture being under the command of Фёдор Лужин (*d.* 1727) and Иван Евреинов (*d.* 1723/24). Both men were recent graduates of the newly established Russian naval academy, and were trained in making observations to determine latitude and longitude. Their written instructions from Петр I specify that upon arrival at Камчатка,

> ''И описать тамошние места, где сошлася ли Америка с Азиею.'' (13).
>
> ''And [you are] to describe there [at Камчатка, existing] places, where if America connects itself with Asia.''

This statement is of particular interest for it indicates that as late as 1719, Петр was still uncertain as to whether or not Asia was connected with America.

Лужин and Евреинов reached the west coast of Камчатка in the fall of 1720, and crossed overland to the settlement of Нижне-Камчатск at the mouth of the Река Камчатка on the Pacific coast of Kamchatka. Here they spent the winter, and probably gathered data on the geography of Камчатка. In 1721 they journeyed southwest to Большеретск. They then explored the northernmost Kurile Islands, but were driven back by stormy weather and loss of both their sail and anchor (14). By 1723 they had returned to Санктпетербургъ. Although they had not sailed along the east or Pacific coast of Камчатка, during the winter of 1720-21 Лужин and Евреинов most likely learned from other Russians in Камчатка, as well as from the native Kamchadals, that this peninsula was unconnected with any land mass to the east. Евреинов's manuscript map of Камчатка, drawn in 1721 or 1722, and which gives the first reasonably accurate representation for the configuration of this peninsula, clearly depicts that area as a peninsula, with no connection with any land mass to the east (15).

There is no evidence that by 1724 either Петр I or any other officials at Санктпетербургъ or Москва knew of the earlier voyage of Дежнев in 1648, which in effect demonstrated that Asia was not connected to America at the Чукотский Полуостров. However, the 1720-21 journey of Лужин and Квреинов to Kamchatka demonstrated to Петр's satisfaction that Камчатка was not connected to any land mass to the east, whether this be a large island or America (16). It was then the 1720-21 expedition, and the 1721-22 Евреинов map resulting from it that convinced Петр I that Камчатка and America were not connected.

However, this still left open the question of a connection between Asia and America in the high latitudes where the Чукотский Полуостров is situated. This question was answered by the cartographical data from Попов's journey of 1711 to the Chukchi Peninsula, where he learned from the natives there as to the existence of the Bering Strait, the Diomede Islands, and the "great land" (the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales) to the east. Thus, although by 1724 Дежнев's pioneer voyage of 1648 had been forgotten, a map prepared within 1717-1722 by a close advisor of Петр I, Jacob Bruce (printed in 1723 by Johann B. Homann, and including data from Попов concerning the Bering Strait area), as well as a manuscript map prepared by another close advisor of the царь, Иван К. Кирилов (1689-1737)—both of which maps, along with that of Евреинов would have been made available to Петр I in his planning of the first Bering voyage—depict Сибирь as being totally separate from North America, from the Лена to the Колыма to the Chukchi Peninsula to Камчатка to the Kurile Islands (17). Thus, when Петр I prepared the orders for the first Bering expedition, *he assumed that Asia and America were separate continents*. Indeed, in his terse instructions there is little to indicate that he believed otherwise, or that he wanted Bering to determine whether or not Asia and America were connected.

THE POPOV-BRUCE-HOMANN MAP OF 1723

There is one final geographical artifice or concept that is crucial to a proper understanding of the original purposes of the first Bering voyage, this being a map of the Камчатка and Bering Strait region that was printed in 1723 by the Nürnberg cartographer Johann Baptiste Homann (1663-1724) (see pp. 109-113 *supra*). Although this map was printed at Nürnberg, the manuscript chart for this was itself of Russian provenance, having been sent to Homann in 1722 by a close advisor of Петр I, field-marshal count Jacob Bruce of the Russian government, for the express purpose of publication. This Bruce-Homann map had been compiled within 1717-1722 by Bruce, who incorporated on it geographical data from several sources. The Чукотский Полуостров region, which depicts no Asia-America connection, was almost certainly derived from a manuscript map of that region drawn in 1711 by Петр Попов, who that year had made a journey to visit the Chukchi natives who informed him as to the existence of the Diomede Islands, the Bering Strait, and the Alaskan mainland (Cape Prince of Wales) (see pp. 100-103 *supra*).

The Bruce-Homann map of 1723 was known to Петр I (18), and it would have revealed to him two concepts regarding the Камчатка and Bering Sea region: (a) North America and Asia were two separate continents, unconnected at Камчатка, the Чукотский Полуостров, or at Остров Врангеля; and (b) a large land mass (perhaps an exaggerated Остров Карагинский) was depicted as lying directly east of Камчатка. The eastern border of the Bruce-Homann map conveniently terminates directly through this imaginary land mass, thus leaving open to question whether or not this hypothetical land area was a large island or whether it was part of the American continent (19). It is highly likely that Петр I saw a copy of this Bruce-Homann map (whether printed or in manuscript form), that he had a copy of the map in front of him when he drew up his three orders (December 1724 to January 1725) for the first Bering voyage, and that a copy of the Bruce-Homann map was given to Bering (along with his orders) and used by him during his 1728 voyage to the Bering Strait (20). As of the year 1724, the Bruce-Homann map represented the most advanced state of geographical knowledge available at that time to the highest levels of Russian government, and there is little reason to doubt that this essential data would have been made accessible to Петр I and to Bering.

It is thus only with a copy of the Bruce-Homann map before us (as it was seen by Петр I, the Russian Admiralty, and Bering), that we can perceive what visual concept these people had in early 1725 as to the geography of the Bering Sea region, thus enabling us to gain a proper comprehension of the ambiguous second and third directives that the царь issued for the first Bering voyage: From Камчатка, Bering was directed to sail "*along/near land, which goes towards north, and according to expectation (because its end is not known* [*id est*, its end does not appear on the Bruce-Homann map], *it seems, that this land* [*is*] *part of America. . . .*[*you are*] *to seek, where it is joined with America, and in order to go to any city of European possession* [in reality signifying Mexico]." (see p. 144 *infra*).

A literal interpretation of the orders of January 6, 1725 thus indicates that Петр's original intention for Bering on the 1728 voyage was, not to determine whether or not Asia and America were joined (Петр assumed that they were separate continents, on the evidence of the Bruce-Homann map of 1723), nor to discover a Northwest or Northeast Passage, nor to even examine any such strait separating the two continents. The two continents were depicted as being separate on the Bruce-Homann map, and this fact was accepted by the царь. Петр's objective for Bering on the first voyage of 1728 was, not the Bering Strait, but the continent of North America (21). What Петр I originally intended Bering to do was to reach the coast of North America itself, probably by sailing *east* and not northeast from Камчатка, determine its location, see if any European settlements or ships could be found there, and then prepare a map of his findings (22).

e Actual Purpose and Achievement of the 1728 Bering Voyage.

Despite what vague geographical misconceptions Петр I had in mind out the Bering Sea region on January 6, 1725, when he issued his three se and somewhat ambiguous orders for the first Bering voyage—at a y early date, even before the actual voyage itself, the consensus of inion at the highest levels of Russian government was that the purpose the voyage was to determine whether or not Asia and America were nnected. This is, in fact, the *de facto* purpose of the 1728 voyage. етр died a few days prior to Bering's departure from Санк-етербургъ, without ever clarifying just precisely what he intended ering to do or how he was to achieve it, thus in effect absolving Bering om any real or extensive accountability for achieving the original otives of the orders. These were nebulous directives, issued by a defunct арь who was no longer in existence to dispute the intended meaning of is ambiguous words, and to whom Bering knew he was no longer an-werable.

On the actual 1728 voyage itself, Bering set sail from Камчатка, not astward to America, but north and northeastward to the Bering Strait 23). And though he failed to sight the Alaskan mainland, Bering's first oyage of 1728 effectively demonstrated to the satisfaction of European eographers that Asia and America were indeed separate continents. Upon his return to Санктпетербургъ in March 1730, without ever aving seen or located the North American continent, Bering was onetheless rewarded for his services by promotion to captain-commander in August 1730, plus a 1000-рубль bonus two years later. The Russian government clearly felt satisfied that Bering had achieved hat they felt the purpose of the voyage to have been.

It is thus evident that, despite a literal interpretation of a dead tsar's agur and misconceived orders, all other Russian authorities at the ighest levels of admiralty and government felt that the purpose of the 728 voyage was to determine whether or not Asia and America were onnected. Thus, upon his demise on January 28, 1725 (one week prior o Bering's departure), whatever vague, unspecified superior motives Тетр I might have had in mind for the 1728 Bering voyage, these all ow vanished and were superseded by the imagined objectives as in-erpreted by Bering and the new government.

Although Петр's theoretical objective for the 1728 voyage was for ering to reach the North American continent, this purpose was never ffectively communicated to Bering, to the Russian Admiralty, or even to Тетр's closest advisors and associates. Bering, the new Russian govern-ent, the Admiralty, and even the dead царь's former advisors, all felt hat the purpose of the 1728 voyage had been to determine if Asia and merica were separate or connected. And this, in reality, is what the ctual purpose of the first Bering voyage was.

As Петр I was drawing up his three directives for the Bering voyage in early January 1725, he was continually accompanied by his close advisor Андрей Константинович Нартов (1683-1756), who later recalled that Петр's reason for sending out the first Bering voyage was ''*to go and determine by voyage if northeast Asia is not connected with America . . . . route through Arctic Ocean to China . . . open route called Anian . . .* '' (24). Thus before Bering had even received his orders to embark upon his first expedition of 1725-1730, and while the царь was yet alive, it had been concluded at the highest and innermost level of government that Bering's objective was to search for a strait (the mythical Strait of Anian) (25) between Asia and America—a strait which Петр I, in fact, assumed to exist.

On February 5, 1725 (Julian), Bering departed from Санктпетербургъ on his long overland journey eastward to Камчатка. The following day, February 17 (Gregorian, equivalent to February 6 Julian), the Dutch minister at Санктпетербургъ, W. de Wilde, wrote to the States General in Nederland, informing them that Bering had departed the previous day for Камчатка, where he planned to construct ships in his search for a Northwest Passage (26).

Within a few days after Bering's return to Санктпетербургъ in March 1730, a brief article appeared in the official Russian newspaper at Санктпетербургъ, stating that a principal objective of the 1728 voyage had been ''*to ascertain whether this land* [*Kamchatka*], *as several think, is joined to northern part of America, or whether there as some kind of an open water passage between them*'' (27).

This same view was also expressed in 1723 by Иван Кирилович Кирилов (1689-1737), another acquaintance of Петр I, who as of 1733 was senior secretary of the Russian administrative senate, as well as chief cartographer and geographic advisor to that senate. Кирилов knew Bering, and he had been one of the two or three persons chiefly responsible for initiating and organizing Bering's second expedition of 1733-1743. According to Кирилов, a principal objective of the first Bering voyage had been to determine ''*whether or not Siberia is joined to America*'' (28).

This same objective, whether Asia and America were joined or not, was also asserted by the official chronicler and historian of the second Bering expedition, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), who had personally spoken with Bering on several occasions (29).

Thus, despite the literal wording as expressed in Петр's written orders of January 6, 1725, the surviving contemporary sources indicate that at a very early date, even prior to Bering's departure from Санктпетербургъ in early February 1725, there existed a consensus of opinion at the very highest levels of Russian government that a principal objective of Bering's first voyage—if not *the* objective—was to determine whether or not Asia was connected to America (30).

THE ORDERS FOR THE 1728 VOYAGE

At Санктпетербургъ, on December 23, 1724 (Julian, add 11 days during 1700-1799 to convert to Gregorian), царь Петр Алексеевич Романов (1672-1725, Петр I «Великий») issued five preliminary directives to the Russian administrative senate pertaining to the selection of a staff for a proposed expedition to Камчатка (31). Because the reply of the senate to these preliminary directives mentions several possible candidates (including Bering) to lead the projected venture, this indicates that as of December 23, 1724, Bering had not yet been selected to command the expedition.

On January 6, 1725, Петр I issued three brief, ambiguous, and even somewhat contradictory orders that outlined the general objectives of the expedition (32):

> ''1. Надлежит на Камчатке или в другом тамот месте сделать один или два бота с палубами.
>
> ''2. [Надлежит] На оных ботах [плыть] возле земли, которая идет на норд, и по чаянию (понеже оной конца не знают), кажется, что та земля часть Америки.
>
> ''3. И для того искать, где оная сошлась с Америкою, по и чтоб доехать до какого города европейских владений, или, ежели увидят какой корабль европский, проведать от него, как оной кюст [берег] называют и взять письме и самим подывать на берегу и взять подлинною ведомость, и, поставя на карту, приезжать сюды.''

> ''1. It is necessary at Kamchatka or in another there place to make one or two boat with decks.
>
> ''2. [It is necessary] On these boats [to sail] along/near land, which goes towards north, and according to expectation (because its end is not known), it seems, that this land [is] part of America.
>
> ''3. And for this [you are] to seek, where it is joined with America, and in order to go to any city of European possession, or, if you see any European ship, [you are] to learn from it, what [that] coast is called and to take in writing [record the name] and yourself to land on shore and to take [an] authentic report, and, placing on chart, to come here.''

The first directive is self-evident. However, the second and third orders are incomprehensible in terms of modern-day geography, and can properly be understood only by referring to the Bruce-Homann map of 1723. The second order is especially ambiguous, for it lends itself to the interpretation as being an order to sail north from Камчатка to reach the land connection (or water passage) between Asia and America.

It is only with a copy of the printed Bruce-Homann map of 1723 before us —a map that Петр almost certainly had in front of him when he drew up these three orders—that we can actually comprehend what geographical visualization Петр had of the Bering Sea region.

What caught Петр's eye on the Bruce-Homann map of 1723 was, not the true Bering Strait, Diomede Islands, and true Cape Prince of Wales to the north, but instead the large imaginary land mass positioned directly east of Kamchatka. In Петр's mind, he wanted Bering to sail along this land mass, which goes toward the north, and which appeared to be part of America (it was cut off by the border of the map). Here the first major ambiguity entered, for Петр instructed Bering to sail along/near this land mass. Since the west coast of this land mass heads north, the inference is that Bering was to sail north along the west coast of the land mass. And Bering did indeed sail north from Камчатка.

However, the order could equally as well be interpreted as meaning to sail eastward along the south coast of the land mass. Indeed, this second interpretation makes more sense in light of the third order, which directs Bering to sail to where the land mass joins on to America, and to then sail to the nearest European settlement or colony there. There were no European settlements at that time along the Arctic Coast of North America (the nearest was the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Churchill on the west coast of Hudson Bay). There were, however, Spanish settlements on the west coast of Mexico, but these could only be reached by sailing east and then south (not north or northeast) from Камчатка.

In view of this, what Петр I likely had in mind for Bering was that he should sail east from Камчатка to the large land mass, then sail eastward along the south coast of this land to where it joined America, and then finally reach a point where the first European settlement would be found (meaning Mexico) or to where a European ship (Spanish) was encountered.

However, what Bering actually did was to sail north along the Kamchatka, Koriak, and Chukchi coasts, which is indeed ''*along land, which goes towards north*'' (order no. 2), ''*to seek, where it is joined with America*''(order no. 3). Bering's interpretation of these two ambiguous orders is entirely justified by the means at his disposal, and by the geographical realities of the Bering Sea region as confronted him in 1728. Bering reached the Bering Strait, and passed through this to reach a high point of 67° 18' 48" N. latitude on August 15, 1728, without finding where Asia was ''*joined with America.*'' Water and provisions

re dangerously low; no connection had been found between Asia and
nerica; the Chukchi coast was rugged, inhospitable, and treeless, and
ainly no place to spend the winter; and, within a month, the first
nter storms would begin to set in. Bering thus prudently terminated the
yage, and returned to spend the winter of 1728-29 in Камчатка.
During June 1729, Bering set sail from Камчатка in a southeast
action for a little over 100 miles (2 or 3 days) looking for a rumored
d mass to the east (in this case Остров Беринга). Finding none, he
en concluded that he had fulfilled the major purpose of the ex-
dition—Asia and America were separate continents—and he returned
Санктпетербургъ. He was, of course, fully aware that he still had not
cated the position of the North American coastline, and for this reason
pon his return to Санктпетербургъ he persuaded the Russian ad-
iralty to send him out on a second expedition (1733-1743) to find the
merican coast.

(1) So late as 1818, James Burney (1750-1821), a participant in Cook's 1778-79 voyage to the Northwest Coast and Alaska, felt the question still unresolved, as to whether Asia and North America were connected—not via the easternmost tip of Сибирь, but by a possible northern cross-polar land bridge above 71° N. latitude: James Burney (1750-1821), ''A memoir on the geography of the north-eastern part of Asia, and on the question whether Asia and America are contiguous, or are seperated by the sea,'' *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (London), vol. 108, part 1, 1818, pp. 9-23.

However, by this time anyone who had read Müller's extensive report on the second Bering expedition (in the original Deutsch *editio princeps* of 1758, and not in the highly abridged English translation of 1761 and 1764), would have perceived by the Дежнев voyage of 1648, as well as the various subsidiary explorations of the second Bering ex- of the second Bering expedition along the Arctic coast of Russia, that Asia and America were indeed two separate continents.

(2) By far the best study yet to appear in English on the origin and purpose of the first Bering voyage, largely reviewing the work of recent Russian scholars, is that by Raymond Henry Fisher (1907-), *Bering's Voyages. Whither and Why* (217pp.; University of Washington Press, 1977). A briefer, but still useful, survey appears in Glynn R. V. Barratt (1944-), *Russia in Pacific Waters* 1715-1825 (300pp.; University of British Columbia Press, 1981), pp. 1-41.

(3) Barratt (1981) p. 2. Fisher (1977) p. 10 also notes Романов's interest within 1698-1712 of a possible trade route from Europe to China via the Arctic coast of Russia.

(4) Борис П. Полевой, ''Водный путь из Ледовитого океана в Тихий: забытый наказ А. А. Виниус 1697 года,'' Природа (Ленинград: Академия Наук), 1965, № 5.

(5) Barratt pp. 2-3; Fisher p. 9, note also p. 61.

The relations between Leibniz and Петр I have been examined in great detail in: Владимир Иванович Герье (1837-1919, Guerrier), ''Отношения Лейбница к Петру великому,'' Журнал Министерства Народнаго Просвещения (Санктпетербургъ), том 147, № 1, январь 1870, сс. 1-48; том 147, № 2, февраль 1870, сс. 345-415; том 148, № 2, апрель 1870, сс. 308-390; particularly январь сс. 14, 18, and апрель сс. 336-337, 377, 379, 384.

(6) Barratt p. 3; Fisher pp. 9, 11 (Нартов), note also pp. 61, 184; Frank Alfred Golder (1877-1929) *Russian Expansion on the Pacific* 1641-1850 [means *to* the Pacific 1641-1750] (368pp.; Cleveland, 1914), p. 130; Frank A. Golder *et alii*, editors, *Bering's Voyages*. American Geographical Society, Research Series, nos. 1 and 2 (2 vols.; New York, 1922-1925), vol. 2 (1925), p. 10; Медаль, На Память Пребывания Его Величества Императора Петра Великаго вь Парижие, 1717 Года (27pp.; Санктпетербургъ, 1717).

Петр's chief geographer, Иван К. Кирилов, later recalled (Fisher p. 184) that when the царь visited Paris in 1717 ''*the local Academy of Sciences wished to find out (through sending people from Siberia) whether or not Siberia is joined to America.*''

At this time the géographe royal of France, Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726) is known to have had an interest in the question as to whether or not Asia and America were connected. On February 3, 1717, Delisle wrote a letter to Louis Bourguet in which Delisle refers to a list by Vincenzo Coronelli (1650-1718) of maps depicting the junction of Asia and America (manuscript letter in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Havre: David M. Matteson, *List of Manuscripts Concerning American History Preserved in European Libraries and Noted in Their Published Catalogues and Similar Printed Lists.* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication no. 359 (203pp.; Washington, 1925), p. 82.

(7) Barratt pp. 7-9; Fisher p. 10. It is likely that Салтыков learned of such a project from the English shipbuilder John Perry (1670-1732), who had been in this capacity in Russia during 1698-1712, and whom Салтыков had met at London in 1713. After his return to London in 1712, Perry published a book entitled *The State of Russia Under the Present Czar* (London, 1716) in which he writes that Петр had expressed an interest on several occasions as to whether or not a feasible sea route existed from Europe to China via the Arctic coast of Russia. Perry also perceptively noted that as long as the Russian-Swedish war (1700-1721) was in progress, Петр felt unable to devote the necessary expense and manpower to a resolution of this question. Indeed, when Bering was finally sent out on his first expedition in early 1725, it was only after the war had terminated and there were available resources to devote to such an expedition.

(8) Barratt p. 9; Fisher pp. 57, 160.

(9) Strong tidal currents, and a treacherous bar (which could be crossed only at high tide), made the Охотск harbor a dangerous haven for ships. However, it was nonetheless virtually the only available port along this section of the almost featureless Okhotsk coast.

(10) Barratt pp. 3-5; Fisher p. 163.

(11) А. С. Сгибнев, ''Большой Камчатский наряд (экспедиция Ельчина),'' **Морской Сборник** (Санктпетербургъ), неоф. отд., том 99, № 2, декабрь 1868, сс. 131-139 (пролижение).

Ельчин's manuscript map of 1719 is located in the Центральный Государственный Архив Древных Актов (Москва), фонд кабинет Петра Великого, книга 43, лист 374.

(12) Fisher pp. 58, 163-164; Barratt pp. 6-7; М. Жданко, ''Работы русских моряков в Охотском море,'' **Зариски по Гидрографии** (Петроград), том 40, № 5, 1916.

(13) О. А. Евтеев, **Первые Русские Геодезисты на Тихом Океане** [под ред. А. К. Салищева] (107сс.; 1950, Москва: Гос. Изд-во Геог. Лит-ры), с. 45. The manuscript instructions are in Ц ГАДА (note 11 *supra*), кабинет Петра Великого, отдел II, книга 66, лист 40 (Полное собрание законов Российской империи, № 3266). Книга 66 also holds Евреинов's manuscript 1721-1722 map of Камчатка and eastern Сибирь.

(14) Семен И. Баскин, ''Путешествие Евреинова и Лужина в Курильский архипелаг,'' **Известия Всесоюзного Географического Общества** (Ленинград), том 84, № 4, ияль-август 1952, сс. 363-379.

(15) The manuscript 1721-22 Евреинов map of Камчатка and eastern Сибирь is located in the ЦГАДА (see notes 11 and 13 *supra*). A large facsimile of only the Камчатка part of the manuscript Евреинов map appears in Алексей Владимирович Ефимов (1896-), **Атлас Географических Открытий в Сибири и в Северо-западной Америка, XVII-XVIIIвв.** (134сс., 194 map facsimiles; 1964, Москва: Академия Наук, Институт Этнографии), с. 43, карта 61. Another, much smaller facsimile of the Евреинов map, but depicting the entire chart, appears in О. А. Евтеев 1950 (note 13 *supra*), facing с. 80. The map does not portray any part of the Анадыр basin, Чукотский Полуосиров, or Bering Strait region.

For the early cartography of Камчатка, see pp. 129-130, note 29 *supra*.

(16) R. H. Fisher 1977 (note 2 *supra*) pp. 61 (also pp. 61-64, 170) observes that: ''If any of Peter's actions was a direct response to the requests of Leibnitz and others [including the French geographers] to answer the question whether Asia and America are joined, it was his commissioning the expedition of Evreinov and Luzhin, not that of Bering.''

(17) Кирилов's manuscript map of 1724 reflects geographical information from Анадырск (largely Попов's data of 1711) that the Chukchi Peninsula was not connected with any land mass to the east.

Facsimile reproductions of the manuscript Кирилов map of 1724 appear in: Вера Федоровна Гнучева (1890-1942), Владимир Леонтьевич Комаров (1869-1945), редакторы, **Матириялы Для Истории Экспедиций Академии Наук в XVIII и XIX Веках, Хронологическия Обзоры и Описание Архивных Материалов.** Академия Наук, Труды Архива, № 4 (310сс.; Москва, 1940), карта 11; Leo Bagrow (1881-1957), ''A few remarks on the Amur, Tartar Strait, and Sakhalin,'' *Imago Mundi* (Leiden), vol. 12, 1955, pp. 127-136, map facing p. 131.

(18) Борис П. Полевой, ''О карте 'Камчадалий' И. В. Гомана,'' **Известия Академии Наук СССР, Серия Географическая** (Москва), 1970, № 1 (январь-февраль), сс. 99-105, *cit.* сс. 100-102.

(19) The provenance of this conjectural land mass east of Камчатка is uncertain. It may represent a gross exaggeration of Остров Карагинский, or even Остпрв Беринга, both of which islands lie off the east coast of Kamchatka, rumors to the existence of which the Russians may have learned from the native Kamchadals. Indeed, on clear days, Остров Беринга may be seen from high points along the central east coast of Камчатка.

However, it is also possible that in compiling this map Bruce or Homann greatly expanded the grain of truth in Остров Беринга or Карагинский with then current misconceptions in Europe concerning Yezo (Ezo-ga-shima, Hokkaido), and/or the semi-fictitious ''Juan da Gama Land'' or ''Company Land'' believed to exist somewhere northeast of Japan.

(20) Fisher pp. 68-70, 77, 79. Bering also received a copy of the Bruce-Homann map in July-August 1725 at Енисейск from the Deutsch naturalist, Daniel G. Messerschmidt (Fisher p. 77).

(21) This point is repeatedly emphasized by R. H. Fisher 1977 (note 2 *supra*) pp. 23, 24, 60, 70, 73, 75, 76, 94, 104, 156, 160, 170, 174, 178.

The possibility exists that, while Петр's intent was for Bering to reach the American continent and to determine the extent (if any) of European colonization on the Northwest Coast, Петр I may also have had in mind the possible future extension of Russian dominion to the New World. However, if he had this in mind, he kept it so secret that even his closest advisors were unaware of it, and the secret died with him.

Although evidence for such a factor is practically nil for the first Bering expedition, it was clearly a motivating factor behind the second Bering expedition. On this second voyage, in which Bering and Чириков finally reached the Alaskan mainland in 1741, the overt (but not true) purpose for the voyage, as it may have been for the first voyage, was ''*to determine whether American coast joined the Asiatic coast.*'' Whereas in reality, in the instructions from the Russian Senate to Bering (December 28, 1732), he was directed to keep the real orders secret from even the crew of his ships, and he was given a separate set of false orders, for public display should the contingency arise.

(22) An excellent review of the historiography of this point appears in Fisher pp. 11-21, 67-71, whose only lapse is that he omits to mention the 1851 Записки article in this connection.

The topic of the actual destination and purpose of the first Bering voyage arose at a comparatively early date, beginning with the anonymous article (probably by Александр

Семеонович Полонский), ''Назначение первой Беринговой экспедиций,'' **Записки Гидрографическаго Департамента** (Санктпетербургъ: Морское Министерство), том 9, 1851, сс. 642-644. (Dall; Golder-Bering vol. 1, p. 364; Wickersham 6125)

In 1941, Алексей Алексеевич Покровский (1875-1942) reminded scholars that a careful literal reading of the three directives of January 6, 1725 reveals that the prime objective of the first Bering voyage was to reach the coast of North America: А. А. Покровский (редактор), **Экспедиция Беринга. Сборник Документов** (417сс.; 1941, Москва: Главное Архивное Управление НКВД).

The best Russian discussion to date of this point is that by Борис П. Полевой, ''Главная задачна первой камчатской экспедиций по замыслу Петра I. О новой интерпретаций инструкций Витусу Берингу 1725г.'' **Вопросы Географий Камчатки** (Петропавловск), 1964, № 2, сс. 88-94 (Камчатский Отдел, Географическое Общество СССР, Петроравловск-Камчатский).

Further discussion of this point also appears in Борис П. Полевой, ''Из истории открытия северо-западной части Америкы, от первого известии сибирскых землепроходцев об Аляске до петровского плана поиска морского к Америке,'' appearing in Иосеф Ромульдович Григулевич (редактор), **От Аласки до Огненной Земли. История и Этнография Стран Америки** (371сс.; 1967, Москва: Академия Наук, Институт Этнографии), сс. 107-120.

More recently, Кушнарев (1964, 1976) has reverted back to the traditional view that Bering was searching for a strait for future commercial use: Евгений Григорьевич Кушнарев, ''Нерешенные вопросы истории первой Камчатской экспедиции,'' appearing on сс. 5-15 of Михаил Иванович Белов (редактор), **Русские Арктические Экспедиции XVII-XXвв.: Вопросы Истории изучения и Исвоения Америки** (232сс.; 1964, Ленинград: Гидрометеорологическое Издательство); Е. В. Кушнарев, В Поисках **Пролива. Первая Камчатская Экспедиция, 1725-1730** (168сс.; 1976, Ленинград: Гидрометеоиздат).

(23) Several combined factors influenced Bering in the field to direct his 1728 voyage, not eastward from Камчатка to reach the Northwest Coast or California/Mexican coast, but instead north and northeast to reach the Bering Strait. Among these are the fact that Bering's ship, the Святой Гавриил, was not designed to withstand the rigors of an extended voyage on the open ocean, nor could it carry sufficient provisions of water and food for such a journey. It was essentially a coastal reconnaissance vessel. Moreover, while Bering and Чириков were preparing to winter at Илимск, during September-October 1725 they met with Петр Иванович Татаринов, the military commandant at Анадырск, who informed them of a Chukchi report mentioning the existence of a land mass across the sea to the east (see pp. 117-118 *supra*).

(24) Fisher pp. 11-12, 17-18, 105; Golder 1922 (note 6 *supra*), vol. 1, pp. 8-8, 358. Нартов's recollections were first published ''perhaps as early as 1819, very likely in 1842, and definitely in 1891'' (Fisher pp. 17-18).

Андрей Константинович Нартов (1683-1756), (Л. Н. Майков, редактор), **Рассказы Нартова о Петре Великом** (138сс.; 1891, Санктпетербургъ: Императорская Академия Наук), сс. 98-99 (Golder 1914 pp. 133-134 translation; Golder-Bering 1922, vol. 1, pp. 8-9 translation, p. 358; Wickersham 6109; Fisher 1977 pp. 11-12, 17-18, 105, 200-201).

This also appeared as *ibidem*, **Записки Академии Наук** (Санктпетербургъ) том 67, книга 2, прилож. № 6, 1892.

(25) For the history of the concept of the mythical Strait of Anian, see: Sophus Ruge (1831-1903), *Fretum Anian. Die Geschichte der Beringstrass und ihre Entdeckung* (5pp.; Dresden, 1873); Godfrey Sykes, ''The mythical Straits of Anian,'' *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (New York), vol. 47, 1915, pp. 161-172; George Emra Nunn (1882-   ), *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (36pp.; Philadelphia, 1929; 200 copies printed); and T. A. Rickard, ''The Strait of Anian,'' *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* (Victoria), vol. 5, 1941, pp. 161-183.

(26) Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), manuscrits Français: Waldo G. Leland (editor), *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication no. 392 (2 vols.; Washington, 1932, 1943), vol. 1, p. 40.

(27) **Санктпетербургская Ведомости**, Март 16, 1730; translated in Fisher pp 12-13, *cit*. p. 12.

(28) Fisher 1977 pp. 12, 184-187, note also pp. 120-121.

(29) In his *Lettre d'un Officier de la Marine Russienne* (60pp.; Berlin, 1753), and again in his *Nachrichten von Seereisen* (304pp.; St. Petersburg, 1758), Müller states that a principal objective of the two Bering voyages was to determine if or not Asia and America were connected.

The only person of authority during this period who presents a somewhat differing viewpoint as to the objective of the first Bering voyage of 1728 is the naturalist Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), who actually sailed on the 1741 voyage with Bering to Alaska, and who shared the same cabin with Bering during the long sea voyage: G. W. Steller, *Reise von Kamtschatka nach Amerika mit dem Commandeur-Capitän Bering* (133pp.; St. Petersburg, 1793), p. 5.

In his narrative, Steller presents two reasons for the first voyage: (A) to determine ''wie weit Amerika gegen Osten van Kamtschatka [est]'' ''*how far America [is] to [the] east of Kamchatka*'';

and (B) ''oder ob nicht solches [Amerika] im Norden dem äußersten Tschuktischen Vorgebürge [*sic*], welches die Alten Promontorium Tabin nannten, am nächsten, [oder] ja wohl gar mit demselben zusammenhängend wäre'', ''*or if not such [America] might in the north be closest to the outermost Chukchi cape, which the elders called Promontorium Tabin,* [or] *indeed even entirely continuous with the same.*''

On the other hand, because of this, Steller (p. 6) felt that ''Dergestalt wurde der Endzweck der Reise nichts weniger, als erreicht'' ''*In this manner the primary objective of the voyage nonetheless was other than achieved.*''

Thus, ''Weil man nun bey der im Jahre 1730 erfolgten Zurückkunft des Capitäns Behring in Moskau sogleich einsahe, wie wenig die Absicht erreicht'' (Seite 7), ''*Thus only in the year* 1730 *following the return of captain Bering to Moscow did one perceive, how little the purpose [of the voyage] was achieved.*''

(The ''*Promontorium Tabin*'' mentioned by Steller has its ultimate origin in the ''*Caep Tabin*'' appearing on a map published by Nicolaas Cornelliszoon Witsen (1641-1717), *Nieuwe Lantkaarte Van het Noorder en Ooster deel van Asia en Europa* (map; Amsterdam, 1687). On this map, ''*Caep Tabin*'' is located on the Arctic coast of Russia, in a position similar to that of the Полуостров Таймыр.

(30) Even Raymond H. Fisher 1977 (note 2 *supra*) p. 93, who has made the strongest case in advocating that Романов's original objective for the first Bering voyage of 1728 had been to reach the American continent (and thus not a search for a Northwest or Northeast Passage), concedes that Bering's actual procedure in executing the 1728 voyage, and his interpretation of how the царь's ambiguous directives were to be complied with, in effect transformed the voyage into a search for a land connection or water passage between Asia and America: ''*when Bering changed the direction of the voyage from southeast and east to north and northeast, he did not abandon the final objective of the expedition [finding America], but the route he followed in pursuit of that objective forced him to involve the expedition in answering the geographical question*'' as to whether or not Asia and America were connected.

Thus, whatever the original intention and objectives of Романов had been, the nebulous second and third directives (especially the second one) were misinterpreted by Bering even before he set out on his voyage. Bering's conduct on this 1728 voyage in effect turned it into a search for a land connection or water passage between Asia and America. And, at this point the original intent and objectives of the dead царь become somewhat meaningless, irrelevant, and academic. Indeed, it is quite understandable how everyone in

and Europe, from Петр I's closest advisors to recent historians, have regarded
g's 1728 voyage as a search to answer the question as to whether or not Asia and
ica were connected--because this is precisely what Bering was doing in 1728: he
ed northeast from Камчатка to determine if northeasternmost Siberia terminated or
her it was connected with North America. Thus, regardless of the theoretical ob-
ves behind Петр's second and third directives, in reality Bering's 1728 voyage was
sformed into a search to determine if Asia was connected to America. When Bering's
emporaries and recent historians interpreted this as such, they frankly are not only
fied in this belief, they are actually correct.

(31) The five directives of December 23, 1724, with three autograph notations by
rp I, are translated in Golder-Bering 1922 (note 6 *supra*), vol. 1, pp. 7-8, with a
imile (figure 2) of a page with the царь's autograph notations. An earlier translation
eared in Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832-1918) *et alii*, *History of Alaska*, 1730-1885.
Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. 33 (775pp.; San Francisco, 1886), pp. 47-48.
ositive photostat copy is in the University of Washington Library, Northwest Collec-
, ''Russia; Archives Department,'' vol. 18.

(32) The text of Петр I's three orders of January 6, 1725 was first published, in an
xact form, in Müller's 1753 *Lettre* and in his 1758 *Nachrichten* pp. 111-112 (note 29
ra). A more accurate (Russian) text of the orders was first published in Василий
иколаевич Берх (1781-1834) редактор, **Первое Морская Путешествіе Россіянъ**
26сс.; Санктпетербургъ, 1823).
The authoritative Russian text of the three orders of January 6, 1725 appeared in:
обственная Ено Императорскаго Величества Канцелярия, **Полное Собрание**
аконов **Российской Империи с 1649 года** (44 томы; 1830, Санктпетербургъ:
ЕИВК), том 7, с. 413, документ 4649.
Since then, the Russian text of these three orders has been published on several oc-
asions: Bering (1847) с. 69 (in his краткая реляция); Полонский (1850) с. 537; Пол-
нский (1851) с. 1; Вахтин (1890) с. 86; Покровский (1941) с. 59; Греков (1960) с.
0; Кушнарев in Белов (1964) с. 6; and Кушнарев (1976) с. 8.
English translations of the three orders of January 6, 1725 have appeared in: Dall (18
0) p. 135; Golder-Bering (1922) vol. 1, pp. 9-10; Fisher (1977) p. 23; and Barratt (198
) p. 14. However, as is the case with virtually every foreign language passage appearing in
his present study, I have made my own translation of the original text rather than rely
pon the translations of others.
Fisher (1977) p. 23 gives a good literal translation of the three orders, but he fails to
erceive and distinguish (pp. 23, 105) between the five preliminary directives of December
3, 1724, and the three orders of January 6, 1725—as well as the date, February 5, on
which Bering actually received the three orders. Barratt (1981) p. 14, writes of the
anuary 6 orders that ''Peter delayed signing the new commander's orders. Finally, he did
o on 26 January 1725.'' This was only two days before the император's death on January
28, 1725.

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